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ABSTRACT

Examining what manpower services are to be delivered, how they can be delivered, and how to gain the support of State and local governments, the conference on rural America aimed at improving equity of access for rural residents. The opening paper examines the delivery of public services in rural areas; the second session deals with the particular problem of manpower service delivery, including the daily problems faced by the U.S. Department of Labor's (DOL) Employment Service. In the third session, both general methods and experimental projects are examined for experiences with different rural manpower service delivery methods; the second half of this session discusses delivery methods in three types of experimental programs of the Rural Manpower Service, DOL, which were begun as early as the mid-1960's. Session 4, the implementation of rural manpower delivery plans, focuses on institutional barriers, decentralization and revenue sharing, State support, and equity for special groups. The conference summary sees the future of rural manpower systems in the development of linkages between rural and urban areas and a modern-day labor exchange capable of dealing with a diverse clientele and their problems. Held in Denver, Colorado, December 1973, the conference was made possible by a grant from DOL. (KM)

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Manpower Services in Rural America

Proceedings of a Conference

December 13-14, 1973

Sponsored by
The Center for Rural
Manpower and
Public Affairs

Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

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Collette Moser

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FOREWORD

The United States has a rural population of significant size. A 1973 U.S. Department of Labor publication states: "of 3,130 counties in the United States, 2,174 have a population that is at least 50 percent rural according to the U.S. census."[1] Included in the 54 million people in these rural counties is a work force of about 20 million. Those residents within this work force as well as those who have the potential for being in it need and desire a variety of manpower services to help make them and their communities economically viable.[2]

Due to such factors as low population densities and large geographic distances, delivery of manpower and public services, in general, is frequently considered too costly. In addition, manpower is often considered an urban problem and delivery systems are designed to fit the urban structure. Issues concerning what manpower services are to be delivered, how they can be delivered, and how to gain the support of state and local governments remain critical to the goal of improving equity of access for rural residents. In trying to answer some of these questions, this conference's designers envisioned a step toward that goal.

In the opening paper, Kenneth Rainey examines issues in the delivery of public services in rural areas. He emphasizes the importance of access to urban areas in identifying differences in rural delivery problems. If the rural area has access to an urban area, delivery problems are more related to developing an efficient scale of operation. But if the area is in a remote region, delivery problems are of a different magnitude. Rainey examines how three cost factors of distance, density, and technology have influenced the delivery in rural areas of such public services as education, health, water and sewer, and public safety. He calls for more imaginative and efficient use of rural capital investments, such as school buses, in the delivery of public services.

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[1] U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Manpower Programs in Rural Areas [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973], [pamphlet] 0-491-996, p. 1.

[2] For more detailed discussions of these needs, see the proceedings of two earlier conferences sponsored by the Office of Research and Development, U.S. Department of Labor: Labor Market Information in Rural Areas - Proceedings of a Conference, February 22-23, 1972; Manpower Planning for Jobs in Rural America - Proceedings of a Conference, December 14-15, 1972; both available from the Center for Rural Manpower and Public Affairs, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824.

The second session deals with the particular problems of manpower service delivery in rural areas. Marvin Konyha criticizes past rural manpower policy which he sees as emphasizing only preparation for immediate job openings such as those in agriculture. He explores the problems of deciding what manpower services should be delivered by conceptualizing a systems model with manpower as a subsector of a human resource delivery system.

Moving from the theoretical to the applied, three representatives of U.S. Department of Labor, Region VIII, Employment Service offices discuss the day-to-day problems they face in trying to deliver manpower services. James Hirsch represents the Hillsboro, North Dakota, rural office which is adjacent to an urban area; Rudolph Gonzales discusses the problems of a remote rural office such as that in Alamosa, Colorado; the Cody, Wyoming, office which James Hillberry represents encounters problems typical to rural offices not only in his region but elsewhere in the U.S.

The two discussants for this session devote most of their comments to the paper by Konyha. Gerald Somers emphasizes the need to distinguish between political and economic obstacles to the delivery of manpower services in rural areas and discusses the questions: who should be served; what services should they receive; and how can the services be carried out most effectively? Varden Fuller challenges the historical validity of certain statements in the Konyha paper. He finds the paper lacking in concreteness and presumptuous of our knowledge of rural manpower problems and service delivery.

What have been some of our experiences with different rural manpower service delivery methods? In the third session, this question is explored by examining both general methods and those used in experimental projects. Charles Fairchild writes about the use of Job Bank, a nationwide computerized system of job openings listed with the Employment Service. He discusses the usefulness of Job Bank to rural areas, both in terms of giving them access and linkages to a larger labor market and in terms of developing profiles of occupational demand, and in transmitting daily crop, weather, and migrant labor supply information, etc.

David Ruesink's paper is devoted to a discussion of the value of using volunteers and paraprofessionals to deliver manpower services in rural areas. Given the shortages of funds and skilled personnel and the high costs of delivering rural service, Ruesink's suggestions offer an important ingredient to the manpower delivery mix. Citing some experiences in Texas, he finds volunteers particularly valuable in survey work and for the collection of labor market information.

The second half of this session is devoted to an examination of delivery methods in three types of experimental programs of the Rural Manpower Service, U.S. Department of Labor, which were begun as early as the mid-1960s. Leonard Sytsma from the Salem, Oregon, Employment Service office presents a typical ACE (Area Concept Expansion) project. These projects use the functional economic area as the model for service delivery. Sytsma describes the structure of the central office units as well as the connections between that office and satellite or outreach points. Skills of various staff members are also described as Sytsma observes strengths and problems encountered in service delivery.

Jim Booth and Collette Moser discuss their survey of Operation Hitchhike units. Their objective was to study the variety of administrative structures, services rendered, and methods of service delivery used. In these pilot projects, the Employment Service "hitchhikes" with existing rural institutions such as Cooperative Extension Service to increase the access of rural residents to manpower services. Similarly, the cooperative efforts of several governmental agencies to improve the quality of the rural labor force and rural life form the basis of Concerted Services projects (Concerted Services in Training and Education). Eugene Griessman describes the projects and emphasizes the use of a "change agent" as a method of service delivery in rural areas.

After decisions are made on what services and what methods are to be used in manpower service delivery in rural areas, the problem remains of getting cooperation from state governments to implement plans. Edward Hunter discusses his Minnesota experiences and problems in trying to develop a legislative commitment to manpower (rural manpower in particular). Hunter believes getting this commitment may be more important than program development and that perhaps it should be the first step in the rural manpower process.

Robert Hunter looks at implementation problems from the point of coordination and cooperation of a host of agencies. He sees the barriers as being structural, bureaucratic, political, economic, and psychological in nature. Many of his observations on the problems of decentralization give insight into issues which are surfacing in the implementation of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA) in rural areas.

Finally in this session, Ray Marshall relates his experiences in working with the Texas legislators. He emphasizes the importance of gaining their confidence, documenting the case with facts, and showing that the suggested programs are of value to legislators. Getting support from other agencies and interest groups is also important in effecting research into accepted and viable rural manpower policy and programs.

The luncheon paper by Daniel Kruger reviews the problems faced by rural manpower delivery systems. Such systems ought to prepare those who could be in the labor market as well as those who are in the labor market. Kruger reviews legislation and policies designed to decrease unequal access to jobs and manpower programs because of such factors as race, sex, and ethnicity. He applies the policies to rural areas and emphasizes the importance of the concept of social efficiency in determining rural manpower policy.

In the conference summary, Louis Levine reviews some of the major issues developed in the conference. Many of his observations are derived from his own experiences. He sees the future of rural manpower systems in terms of the need to develop linkages between rural and urban areas and to develop a modern-day labor exchange capable of dealing with a diverse clientele and their problems. Levine also comments on the importance of establishing balance between planners and those who must operate at the grassroots level. In conclusion, he discusses the rural manpower policy implications of the following issues: the energy crisis; comprehensive manpower service legislation; manpower revenue sharing; public service employment; special manpower programs; and management and funding of manpower programs.

This conference was held in Denver, Colorado, December 13 and 14, 1973. Robert Hunter and Connie Talmage of the Bureau of Sociological Research, University of Colorado, were most helpful in assisting with local arrangements. Conferences organized by the Rural Manpower Policy Research Consortium are held in different parts of the country to facilitate participation of people from various rural regions and to focus on variations in rural manpower problems.

The members of the Rural Manpower Policy Research Consortium who have helped with the conference preparation are:

Varden Fuller, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of California, Davis;
Eugene Griessman, Department of Sociology, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama;
Dale Hathaway, Ford Foundation, New York;

Robert Hunter, Department of Sociology, University of Colorado;
Louis Levine, School of Government Studies, George Washington University;
Ray Marshall, Department of Economics, University of Texas;
Myrtle Reul, School of Social Work, University of Georgia;
Gerald Somers, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin.

Drs. Daniel Sturt and John McCauley of the Rural Manpower Service, U.S. Department of Labor, who are ex-officio members of the Consortium, also devoted their energies to the organization of the conference.

Others who have helped with the conference arrangements are Michael Dennis and Deborah Johnson. Jeanette Barbour coordinated some technical arrangements and with the assistance of Barbara Richmond transcribed and typed the proceedings. Addiann Hinds assisted in the production and editing of the proceedings.

This conference was made possible by a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, through the Office of Research and Development, Manpower Administration.

In the transcription and editing of the discussions, some statements made by audience members may have been misinterpreted. It is suggested, therefore, that anyone wishing to use the information contained in the discussions contact the individual involved to verify the accuracy of the interpretation. Addresses of those attending the conference are included at the end of the proceedings.

Collette Moser, Director
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Michigan State University
April, 1974

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SESSION I

DELIVERING PUBLIC SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

1/2

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

John S. McCauley
Rural Manpower Service, U.S. Department of Labor

Dr. Daniel Sturt was scheduled to open this conference, but urgent business is keeping him in Washington. He asked me to express his regret at not being able to be here. He had helped organize this meeting and had been looking forward to being with you.

The Rural Manpower Policy Research Consortium was established in 1971 at Michigan State University with a grant from the Manpower Administration. One of the purposes of this group is to sponsor meetings such as this to explore the problems involved in providing manpower services in rural areas. Another objective is to build a bridge between university researchers and government officials responsible for carrying out manpower programs.

Many of you participated in the first conference on labor market information which was held in East Lansing, Michigan in February, 1972. We found that present practices in this field do not present an accurate picture of rural problems, especially underemployment and low income. The conference helped to clarify issues and indicated some of the measures that need to be taken.

The second conference, "Manpower Planning for Jobs in Rural America," was held at the invitation of Ray Marshall in Austin, Texas in December, 1972. The timing was just right for this meeting, coming soon after the passage of the Rural Development Act. Some of the officials who had been involved in drafting the Act participated.

The conference we are now holding is a logical outgrowth of the first two meetings. Labor market information and manpower planning are important ingredients for economic development, but they will not be very helpful without effective implementation of plans for the delivery of manpower services. The situation in most rural communities in this regard leaves a lot to be desired. Perhaps the most difficult problem in many areas is to somehow get things moving--to find someone to act as a catalyst, to develop a proposal, to make the needed contacts, and get the proposal approved and funded. As Bob Hunter likes to remind us, there are too many residents of rural communities who have become convinced over the years that certain things cannot be done. How to overcome this obstacle is one of the main things that Dan Sturt hopes we will focus on during this conference.

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Our agenda for this meeting begins with a paper that considers some of the general problems involved in providing almost any kind of public service in rural areas. We will then focus on the rural manpower aspect, and consider what manpower services need to be delivered to rural residents. After that, we will hear from people who are on the firing line in three geographic areas concerning the problems they are facing.

We will then turn our attention to some of the innovative arrangements that have been introduced, including the job bank. We will also consider the experience of some communities with the use of volunteers in helping to bring information and service to rural residents. Three of the pilot efforts that have been encouraged by the Rural Manpower Service will then be discussed. This session will review experiences with Area Concept Expansion (ACE), Operation Hitchhike (OH), and Concerted Services in Training and Education (CSTE).

Tomorrow morning we will take a look at some issues affecting the delivery of rural manpower services, including institutional and regulatory barriers, the recent trend toward decentralization and decategorization, and the increased interest of state governments in developing manpower programs in rural areas.

Our luncheon speaker will discuss how best to assure equity of access to manpower services for groups of workers with special needs. And then finally, we will step back a bit and take a long-range look at the implication of our discussions for the future.

I have read some of the papers and I believe we are going to have some very interesting presentations. I would like to encourage each of you to participate in the discussion. We have deliberately held down the number of persons invited to make it easier for you to speak from the floor.

PUBLIC SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

Kenneth D. Rainey
Academy for Contemporary Problems -
Columbus, Ohio

Public services--the things that federal, state, and local governments do--are increasingly a measure of our well-being and the quality of our lives, whether we live in the city or in the country. Furthermore, there is a feeling that rural people and rural areas have special needs that somehow are not being satisfied. These are the concerns I will examine: Are rural people being deprived of a rising standard of living because they are not receiving some kinds of public services? What are people entitled to in America, regardless of whether they live in urban or rural areas? And finally, what needs to be done to meet these entitlements?

What Is Rural?

First of all, what is rural? The term rural, at least as the United States Census defines it, has no useful meaning for this discussion. In fact, it is very misleading.

Rural once meant something. While the term may not have ever been clearly defined, it certainly conjured up a different set of notions from the term urban. Rural people were different, had different lifestyles, had different expectations, earned their living by different means and, not incidentally for our discussion today, had different politics and different expectations about what they wanted to receive from their government.

For a good indication of what the term rural meant, I would recommend two films to you. They are *The Immigrants* and *The New Land.* Together they portray the lives of a rural Swedish family. Faced with crop failure and general hopelessness in Sweden, the family migrates to Minnesota to carve out a new life. The pair of films starts in 1850 and ends about the turn of the century. It is a very moving portrayal of a constant, primal struggle against hunger, against cold, against sickness and injury, and even in one instance against Indian attack.

These were people who were almost entirely self-sufficient within a small group of families. The government intervened in their lives in only the most abstract ways as a legal provider of the land and as an organizer of armies to fight the Civil War. The army also put down the

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rebellion of the Sioux Indians who had risen up in utter desperation.

These Swedes rarely got to town. They learned English slowly because they were rarely called upon to speak it. In the early years of their settlement here they owned very few things they did not manufacture themselves. They were rural people. One cannot say whether their lives were easier or harder than those of impoverished people in the cities, but they were surely different. In some ways they represent the American success story. The old farmer died, not rich, but secure from want and better off than he would have been had he stayed in Sweden.

What is rural today? Perhaps there isn't any rural America today, at least not in the sense that there was prior to the turn of the century. Today with the telephone, electricity, and especially the automobile and television, the styles of life in the city and the country have grown closer together. A relatively small minority of Americans live far away from the city and its influence. It is impossible in many cases to see much of a distinction in the life-styles of those the Census classifies as urban--that is living in places of 2,500 or more--and those it classifies as rural.

Both receive news, fashions, entertainment, and political views via their television sets.

Both shop in the shopping centers after having driven to them in automobiles.

Both work at the same kinds of jobs.

It is no longer accurate to equate "rural" with agriculture and farming. Farming has become much more like manufacturing in the kinds of skills it requires and the amount of capital investment required. Many farmers work their fields in the evenings and on weekends, and hold a factory job during the day where they work side-by-side with town residents.

While the Census definition and our mental image of the rural person and the farmer do not serve us well, there are some distinctions that do need to be made. City life and country life have grown together and the boundary is difficult to perceive. However, not all country people have easy access to the city and its goods and services.

The sheep rancher who lives 50 miles from the nearest town of 2,000 people and several hundred miles from the nearest metropolitan area has different problems and different needs than the farmer who lives in an unincorporated township just outside the border of Columbus, Ohio. The remote sheep rancher has a more difficult time educating his children, getting health and dental care, and buying the food that he does not raise himself. Therefore, it seems more valid, when talking about public service needs, to draw a distinction between those who have easy access to an urban area and those who live far from the city and town.

I should add a word in defense of the U.S. Bureau of the Census and other government statisticians. They are not blandly insisting upon the old distinction between urban and rural. But this remoteness concept is more difficult to portray and slow to be accepted.

In 1968, the U.S. Bureau of the Census published a very useful volume entitled *The People of Rural America.* This volume presents the concept of remoteness from urban areas as the distinguishing factor in life-styles. Figure 1 is drawn from that book. It shows the counties of the United States mapped according to their distance from a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Remember the key factor for establishing an SMSA has been a Central City of 50,000 people or more. The table accompanying this map indicates that in 1960 two-thirds of the population of the 48 contiguous states--approximately 114 million people--lived within the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas themselves. Another 20 million lived within 50 miles of an SMSA and 33 million lived between 50 and 100 miles from an SMSA. Ninety-three percent of the population of the United States lived within 100 miles of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. This included 96 percent of the urban population, 88 percent of the rural nonfarm population, and 82 percent of the farm population. Seventy-four percent of the population, nearly three Americans out of four, lived within 50 miles of an SMSA. This is important. While 50 miles may not represent easy access to an urban core, access is possible.

I would like to offer several other illustrations that corroborate this pattern area map. Figure 2 is a map developed by Dr. Jerome Pickard of the Appalachian Regional Commission for the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. He projects the urbanized regions of the United States to the year 2000. Dr. Pickard indicates that, by the turn of the century, there will be three very large metropolitan regions of more than 10 million people. One will be an extension of the well-known Boston-to-Washington corridor eastward through the Great Lakes Region into Wisconsin and down along the Ohio River. A second major metropolitan region will be along the West Coast from the Mexican border to above San Francisco and then east to Sacramento. The third will be a metropolitan region wholly within the State of Florida. This map and the previous

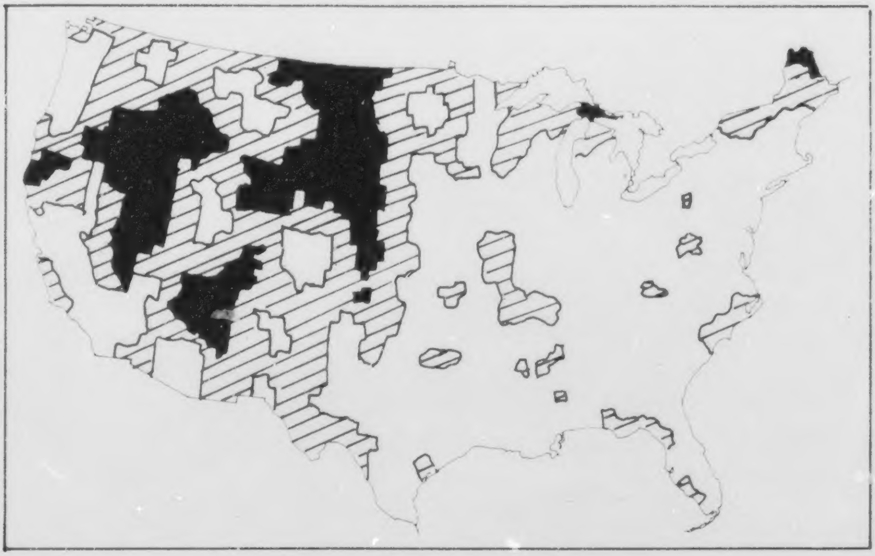
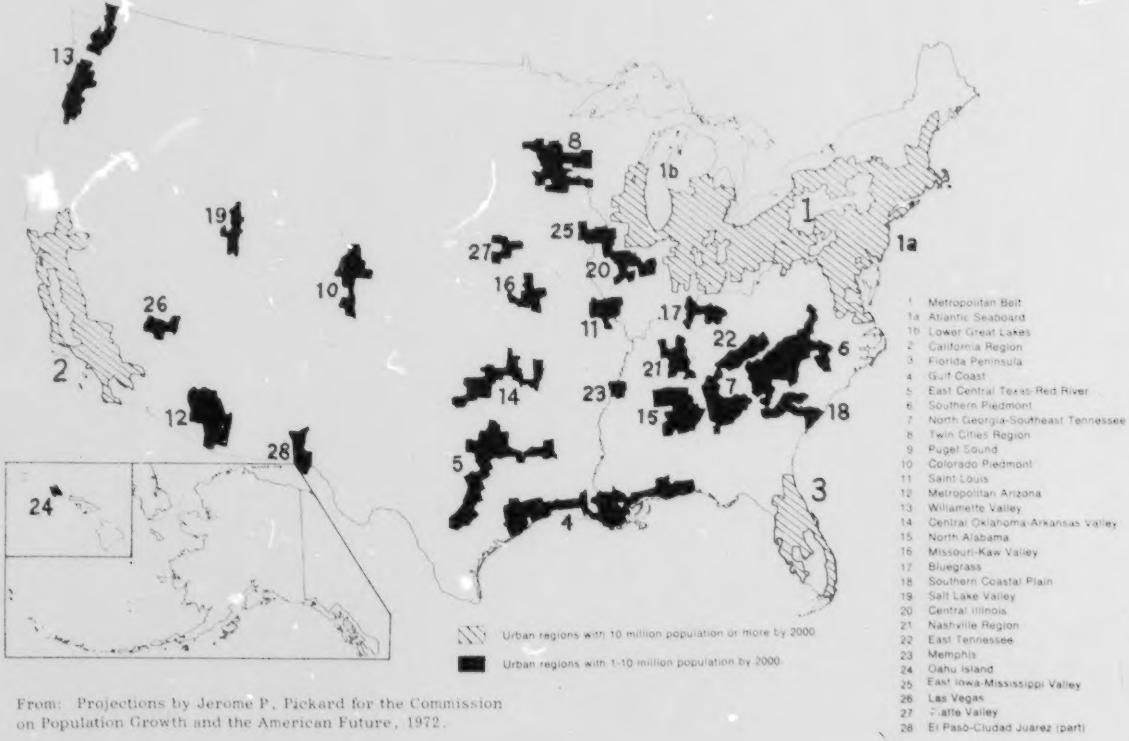


Figure 1 -- Rurality of Counties in the Coterminous United States: 1960

▨ -- 100-200 miles from a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

■ -- More than 200 miles from a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

From: U.S. Bureau of the Census, People of Rural America, by Dale E. Hathaway, J. Allan Beegle, and W. Keith Bryant (A 1960 Census Monograph). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.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Urban regions with 10 million population or more by 2000
Urban regions with 1-10 million population by 2000
1 Metropolitan Belt
1a Atlantic Seaboard
1b Lower Great Lakes
2 California Region
3 Florida Peninsula
4 Gulf Coast
5 East Central Texas-Red River
6 Southern Piedmont
7 North Georgia-Southeast Tennessee
8 Twin Cities Region
9 Puget Sound
10 Colorado Piedmont
11 Saint Louis
12 Metropolitan Arizona
13 Willamette Valley
14 Central Oklahoma-Arkansas Valley
15 North Alabama
16 Missouri-Kaw Valley
17 Bluegrass
18 Southern Coastal Plain
19 Salt Lake Valley
20 Central Illinois
21 Nashville Region
22 East Tennessee
23 Memphis
24 Oahu Island
25 East Iowa-Mississippi Valley
26 Las Vegas
27 Platte Valley
28 El Paso-Ciudad Juarez (part)

From: Projections by Jerome P. Pickard for the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, 1972.

Figure 2 -- Urban Regions - Year 2000

one show an important distinction we must make in talking about urban and rural and the dominance of metropolitan areas over rural territory. It is that there is a big difference between that part of the United States east of the Mississippi and the west. Not only do most people in the east live within 50 miles of an SMSA, most of the land is within 50 miles of an SMSA or very soon will be. In the west, however, the SMSAs are fewer and further apart and there are vast areas of land 300 or more miles from the nearest metropolitan area. This same pattern can be seen by quite different measures in the following maps. Figure 3 shows population distribution as reflected in the 1970 Census of Population. This map indicates there are sparsely populated (rural, if you will) regions in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Northern New York, and then a vast region that runs in an intermittent fashion along the Tidewater rim of the United States, another through the Appalachian mountains, and another in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Again, when we move west of the Mississippi, we see a substantially different pattern. Areas with under 10 persons per square mile predominate. This pattern is echoed in the population change map (Figure 4) where we see these same rural regions in the tip of Maine, Central Appalachia, the eastern Tidewater area, and again sweeping up through the Great Plains. The rural regions are the ones that have lost population.

These maps permit us to develop a distinction quite critical in discussing both service needs and service capabilities in rural areas. There is little distinction between the life-styles of the rural person who lives next to an urban center and those living in the urban center. On the other hand, there is a considerable difference in the life-style of the person who lives in an area remote from the urban center. The same thing is true of public services. The public service needs and the capabilities for meeting those needs are quite different in a remote area than they are in a rural community that has easy access to a metropolitan area. This leads then to a distinction between two kinds of rural public service problems:

(1) The problems of small towns and unincorporated territories within an urban or metropolitan context. These are problems of scale.

(2) The problems of the population living in remote regions, far from an urban center of 10,000 people or more. The children living in a small unincorporated crossroads town, 10 miles from a city of 25,000 can be bussed to high school. However, there is a limit. When there is no town of 10,000 or more for 100 miles, it is difficult to develop, through bussing, a school population large enough to support a modern high

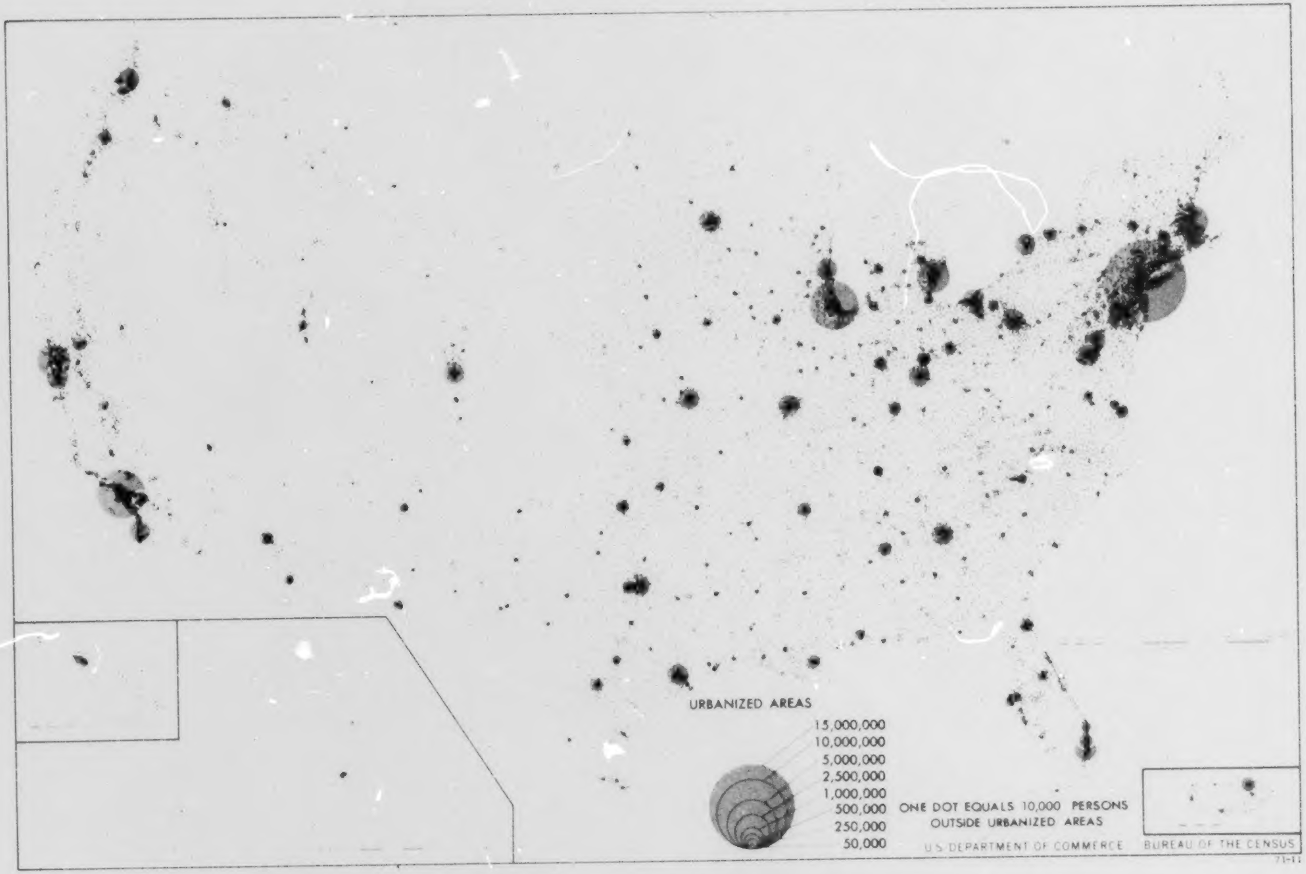
URBANIZED AREAS
15,000,000
10,000,000
5,000,000
2,500,000
1,000,000
500,000
250,000
50,000
ONE DOT EQUALS 10,000 PERSONS OUTSIDE URBANIZED AREAS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
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Figure 3 -- Population Distribution: 1970

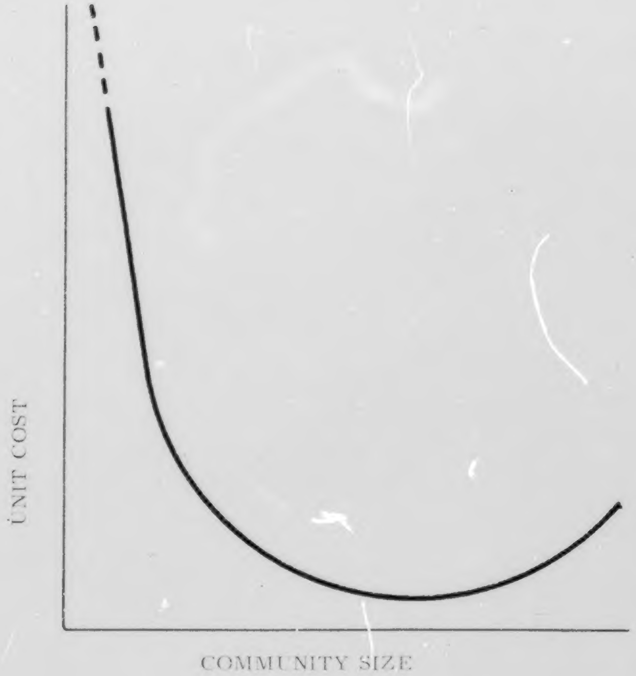

Figure 4 -- Community Size and the Unit Cost of Public Services

school. In the remote regions we have problems not only of low density, but also of long distance. The "close in" rural communities have problems of density and frequently problems of institutional rigidity. These are problems of scale and distance.

Public Services

Just as it was important to discuss the concept of remoteness before launching into the problems of providing public services, it is likewise important to be more specific about what public services are and how they relate to the life-styles of nonmetropolitan people. By public services do we mean what government does, what bureaucrats do? If so, most rural people would say that they have all the public services they need; they have all the government they can stand. Historically, rural people have been antigovernment. Self-reliance has been an important cultural totem. Rural people were antigovernment, antitaxes, proneighborliness and proself-reliance. This is at least the theology of the rural man as preached eloquently by such figures as William Jennings Bryan.

Differing amounts of government service were one of the major distinctions between town and country, between urban life and rural life. Towns had public water systems, fire departments, police, schools, and street lighting even in the early days of this nation. In the country, the family group had what it and its neighbors provided for themselves. Their contact with the government was limited to military service and legal mechanisms such as deeds, property, records, and wills. These were provided by the state government through the county government. There was little else. Pennsylvania townships had a government officer known as a pathmaster. The title was a very literal description of that rural functionary's responsibility. Taxes were few and mightily resisted. Even into this century it was possible in many rural areas to pay your property tax by working on the roads if you had little cash income. Law and order reached rural people through the county sheriff and the county courts and legal records systems. Until very recently there was little else to rural public service. Welfare was provided through the county homes, poor houses, and orphans' homes. Certainly it was the bare bones of what a civilized society should deliver to its old, young, and infirm. While free public education became widespread in the 19th century, it did not reach out into the rural areas. If you lived far from the school, you had to be educated at home. As a result illiteracy was common among rural people. Gradually the notion of universal education spread. With the automobile it was possible for most rural children to go to school, although even today not all are able to. Next in importance as a rural service were roads. These became more important as the automobile revolutionized rural life.

Now we find that not only are a full panoply of government services provided in some rural communities, making it difficult to draw distinctions between urban and rural life-styles, but also rural (perhaps we should call them nonmetropolitan) people increasingly expect to have services as good as or better than those available in the city.

Let us take a look at the major public service fields involved here and see what distinctions can be drawn between the problems and needs of people who live in remote regions and those who live in small communities near urban centers.

Public Service Costs

If city, small-town, and country people are seeking the same kinds of public services, why can't they have them? This brings us to the "J" curve that indicates it is more expensive on a unit basis to provide certain kinds of public services in low density areas or small communities. Figure 4 shows the results of research that have not yet been done. That is, it attempts to show the cost curve we presume to exist relating unit costs of public services, such as educating children or providing police patrols, to the size of the community in which such services are rendered. This curve shows that in very small communities it is almost prohibitively expensive to render a service. The cost is so high in fact that these services are not rendered in these small communities. As we look at larger communities, the cost per unit of service becomes less expensive until we hit the trough of maximum efficiencies. Then as we move into even larger communities the cost begins to increase again.

Some research has been done to demonstrate the validity of this curve. Other researchers such as William Alonso have argued that not only is it impossible to do a respectable job of answering this question, but it is the wrong question. In the first place it is impossible now to get reliable cost data, and costs are only one side of the equation. There is no way to hold quality of service or level of service constant so as to compare both sides of the equation--the cost of the service and the service rendered. Furthermore, how do you deal with such complex things as this: while police service may be more expensive in rural areas on a unit basis, such areas require less police service.

In spite of these complexities it is important for us to devote some time and research to exploring the cost question. We need to provide real numbers for the bottom axis of this diagram. In what general size level of communities do we begin to enjoy efficiencies, economies of scale? At what general size level do the costs begin to increase again? We need this information in order to add strength to a national urban development policy. Since World War II the federal government has been making increasingly larger investments in community infrastructure, particularly in sewerage systems. There is not enough money to go around and therefore the government should concentrate the funds in those communities where it will do the most good: that is, the communities that have some chance of becoming viable urban centers. What size communities do we want to encourage? Is a town of 1,000 large enough to support an adequate array of public services? A town of 500? Or a town of 5,000? In making grants for water and sewage facilities the federal government faces a long line of mayors and townships' officials from these small communities. They say they need sewers for industrial development and want a grant-in-aid to help finance it, and they cannot finance the system with local revenues. How can the "feds" answer, "There are too many towns that are too small"? They can't. They spread the money. Everybody gets something.

The Appalachian Regional Development Program was intended to operate at a higher level of sophistication. It was to invest its funds in what were called growth centers. The basic ideas were thus: since infrastructure funds were limited, everything could not be done everywhere; therefore, sufficient money should be put into a few areas so they could be viable urban centers for the region. To telescope a good bit of history, there has been continuous pressure over the years from the states (who were, in turn, pressured by local officials) to aid smaller and smaller communities. If a town of 10,000 could be a growth center, why not a town of 300? One state even had the idea of having a growth center that was 100 yards wide and many miles long, running along a strip of highway. It was very hard to stop this chain of logic. It was a *reductio ad absurdum*, but how do you stop it? The strong body of research is not available to show where one gets the most effective investment from infrastructure funds. We have only our "J" curve theory.

Some work has been done indicating a town of 10,000 may be the place where the efficiencies really begin. Below that costs tend to be substantially higher and the trough is maintained up to cities over 50,000.[1] For slow growth communities the costs rise after 10,000. The research does not carry us beyond this. Other studies tend to indicate that the inefficiencies begin somewhere between 500,000 and a million where cities begin to encounter complex social problems and program costs of a different kind.

These studies give us evidence rather than a conclusion, and we will have to treat this "J" curve as a theory rather than a substantiated fact. But I think it will serve us well even as a theory. Certainly, it can help guide us in examining the public service problems of rural communities because the costs of public services in small towns are higher. An exact calibration is not necessary. We are safe in moving ahead on the hypothesis. An interesting piece of research was recently published in Appendix 5 of the report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, "The Economic and Social Impact of the Depopulation Process Upon Four Selected Idaho Counties." The author, W. LaMar Bollinger, includes a section on local government services and presents the dilemma extremely well. Not only are the dollar costs for rendering some kinds of services higher per capita in these small communities because the capital and operating costs must be spread over fewer people, resources of these communities are smaller. The small communities in rural regions tend to have lower per capita incomes than similar communities in urbanized areas. Thus, the twofold problem: not only do rural communities face higher public service costs, they have fewer resources with which to pay for them. Bollinger cites the dilemma of these counties:

> The Four County Area has a very low population density--less than seven persons per square mile--and it has encountered great difficulty in maintaining, much less improving, the public services in its communities. For example, none of the three communities in Lincoln County has a sewer system. This state of affairs has been a serious deterrent for the town of Shoshone in its efforts to attract new industries. Admittedly, this town, situated west of the Craters of the Moon National Monument, literally sits on lava rock where the cost of blasting for sewer construction is extraordinarily expensive. When the electorate finally gave the city of Shoshone the right to issue sewer bonds in August 1971, no private financial institution even bid on the bonds--a rare situation. Happily, the broadened authority given to the Farmers Home Administration

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[1] George Sternlieb, *et. al.*, *Housing Development and Municipal Costs* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey).

enabled them to come to the rescue and purchase their bonds, and construction has actually started.

Factors Influencing Rural Public Services

How do we account for this problem of higher costs to provide public services to the smaller communities or rural areas? This is best understood by examining the specifics of service needs, but before moving to this analysis of public services, let us first look at the major forces or factors influencing costs. They are: distance (how large a geographic area must be served?); density (how many people are found within the area?); and technology (what methods or equipment are available to facilitate the provision of a service?). Is the technology suited to the needs of smaller communities or does it work to the disadvantage of such settlements? As the next illustration indicates, these three factors are very much interrelated. Distance and density could be said to be two measures of the same thing. What is the population to be served and over how large an area is it spread? The state of technology can either help or hinder, as we will see in examining some of the specific public services.

Keeping these three factors in mind, let us look at six key public service fields:

(1) Education
(2) Health and welfare
(3) Water and sewer
(4) Highways, streets, curbs, gutters, and street lighting
(5) Public safety, police and fire service
(6) Recreation

Education -- Education is the largest single expenditure of state and local governments. It is difficult here again to provide good statistics since school services are often rendered by a different instrumentality than that responsible for general local government, but in a rural community it would not be unusual to find that 80 percent of the public money spent goes for education.

Good highways and a school bussing system can overcome many of the problems of distance in providing services for rural areas and small towns. With such a system an areawide school capable of providing high quality primary and secondary education should be possible to achieve in most of the eastern United States, with the exception of the very rural areas noted previously in Central Appalachia and Northern Maine. In the more remote areas of the west, however, bussing to achieve adequate scale is not so easy. The Sunday comic section recently had a Ripley "Believe-It-Or-Not" item showing a child who regularly traveled 120 miles a day round-trip to go to school. I would put this at the borderline of feasibility.

Even with the increased size of service population made possible through school bussing, many rural school districts cannot offer some specialized education services. Their high school curriculum is not as rich and varied as that of city schools. They find it impossible to have kindergarten because it is difficult to bus small children. Furthermore, a small district cannot support education specialists such as remedial reading teachers, art teachers, and music teachers. The Appalachian program has experimented with regional education service cooperatives which enable smaller school districts to band together to provide such services. This is a substantial breakthrough for smaller districts.

The energy crisis is a major unknown in looking into the future. If fuel becomes very difficult to obtain and the school systems are not given high priority, it could limit the options available to rural and small town children.

Technological breakthroughs such as instruction via television and other electronic means certainly hold the potential for enriching rural and small town school systems by providing access to experts who may be half-way across the country or the world. Technology may reduce the problems of distance and scale faced by small towns and rural school systems, but as yet these devices are experimental. This is one of the major fields to be examined in any consideration of improving the quality of rural education and public service.

Health and Welfare -- Health services should rank side-by-side with education in importance in determining the quality of life in small town and rural areas. Health service is difficult to classify as a public service. To be sure, hospitals, public health, and selected other services are frequently in the public domain, but the majority of health care is provided by private physicians and many hospitals are privately financed or quasi-public. Nonetheless, because it is such a critical determinant of the quality of life and because there is a substantial difference between cities and the country, we must consider rural health care as part of the vital public service package.

Let us conjure an image of rural health care. Is it not the friendly family doctor, the all-purpose general practice physician making his way from farm to farm by horse and buggy? Even if you put that doctor in an automobile, this image is not accurate. Less densely populated communities are having a very difficult time attracting physicians and when their long-time family doctor dies or retires to Florida or California there is no one to take his place. Furthermore, smaller communities have a difficult time financing and supporting a modern, well-equipped hospital. The Appalachian program considered, with some exceptions, that any hospital of less than 50 beds was marginal. It could not support the variety of facilities and specialists needed. A population of approximately 30,000 people is required to support a comprehensive health maintenance organization. This would require quite a large territory in many parts of the country. We cannot enlarge this service shed merely by using the automobile without suffering qualitatively. Health care is time--and distance--dependent. For some kinds of health care, such as chronic diseases, a person can fly or drive several hundred miles to reach the specialist he needs. However, minutes count in most health crises--accidents and heart attacks for example. In the eastern United States we ought to be planning a health care network with the comprehensive teaching hospital in a metropolitan area providing many services and training opportunities for its hinterland region. Smaller hospitals capable of handling health crises could be arranged strategically throughout the region. General health care and less critical health services can be provided by doctors through group practice clinics. The entire system would be hooked together by a planned transport network that enables people to get to town to see a doctor or a dentist.

The planned health transport system is a critical need in many rural areas. Ambulance systems are poor, frequently adjuncts of morticians' operations. Old people who don't have a car can't get to the doctor. Young people can't get to a dentist, and rural children have substantially poorer teeth than their counterparts in urban areas (although poor children in the city or the country generally do not receive adequate dental care).

In our less urbanized areas we must look toward fully utilizing the tremendous investment we have made in school buses to provide a multipurpose transport system not only for education, but also for health care, recreation and other public service needs.

Water and Sewer -- Although I have ranked it third in this discussion, certainly water and sewage systems have dominated most discussion of service needs of rural communities. Requests for aid in building sewerage systems run through all the rurally-oriented grant-in-aid programs. The Area Redevelopment Act, EDA, the Appalachian Program, and Farmers Home Administration all were overwhelmed by applications for building small town sewerage systems. Many of these communities had no systems at all. They simply dumped waste into the stream or used tile fields, septic tanks, or privies. They found they could not attract industries because a tile field cannot be used for industrial waste. It was no longer acceptable to dump waste into a stream. Small towns were faced with orders from sanitary water boards to build treatment plants and collection systems. These towns found the cost of building these systems prohibitive. There are cases of federal grant applications where the cost of building a sewerage system exceeded the market value of all of the homes in the community. Scale is a problem. Distance is a problem. You can't run a line very far along a country road before the cost begins to soar.

It is not efficient to serve a small number of homes with conventional technology. When small towns went to architectural and engineering firms, these firms, in many cases, designed essentially a cut-down version of the large city system. There was no unique technology available to the small community and the cut-down version of the big city system was very expensive. This, then, is another area where we have to look for technological breakthroughs, be satisfied with pollution, or force a clustering of population into settlements that can be served with conventional technology. These are the options. There aren't any others. Personally I think this is a field where we can look for some breakthrough using new technology. In fact, now there is a lot more technology available for small systems than is reflected in current construction patterns. However, using this technology may not mean that we can put a white porcelain toilet in every rural home and fill it with ten gallons of crystal clear drinking water to flush away one pint of human waste. Chemical systems may be required. While it may not be acceptable to town people to move from the kind of sanitary devices they now enjoy to a chemical recirculation system, we may find less objection from people who now have an outhouse. The modern chemical system ought to be a step up.

What is true for sewerage systems is to a lesser extent also true of water. Rural and small town people have traditionally relied on wells. It is possible to develop smaller scale filtering and treatment systems. However, piping can become very costly where large areas have to be covered. On-lot treatment systems may be the answer in low density areas. Again we may not be able to sustain present usage patterns. We may have to develop separate systems for serving homes in low density settings. Drinking water will have to be used for drinking and cooking while less pure water, pumped from the ground, will be used for washing and flushing.

Highways, Streets, etc. -- I can see no particular disadvantage of smaller towns in providing themselves with streets, curbs, gutters, storm sewers, and street lighting. These ought to be able to be built from local funds if the community has a healthy economic base. Highways do present some difficulties in remote regions. In most parts of the East there have been substantial programs for many years to build a network of service roads in rural areas. Pennsylvania elected Gifford Pinchot in 1928 on a platform of getting the farmer out of the mud. Since that time Pennsylvania's rural townships have received substantial allotments from the state highway tax fund to build and maintain service roads. Other states have had similar programs, although there are states with rural road networks so poor that in winter it is difficult to get children to school.

In the West there are substantial difficulties because of low density. How long a service road are you willing to build to assure that one family can get its children to school throughout the winter? In some places it is not possible to serve existing settlement patterns for a reasonable cost. You cannot get a surfaced road up every hollow and still meet other transportation needs of the state. I see no immediate technological breakthrough here in the development of highways. In fact, we may be facing substantial difficulty if there is a shortage of asphalt. We will have to be satisfied with serving a substantial majority of the population. Others may be unreachable. In highways, as in health, the breakthrough should come in rural and small town public transit. We can make it possible for rural people to exist without owning an automobile or, more to the point, two automobiles. The automobile is a financial hardship to most low-income rural families although I am not sure they would abandon their cars if they had an opportunity. Again, the energy crisis may force this. It may vastly alter what has been feasible in rural communities. Typically, the low-income family in the rural community spends a substantial part of its income trying to keep a low quality used car on the road. If the price for fuel increases, what is this family to do? Typically, these cars are big gas burners. I think the answer lies again in building a rural and small town public transit system. Experiments have been carried out on this.

One of the largest investments made by a rural community is in its school bus system. This school bus system is used only three or four hours a day, five days a week. Certainly much better use can be made of this substantial investment. In Europe a very elaborate public transport system was built and subsidized by using this system to carry the public mail. Again the energy crisis may mean that we can no longer enjoy the luxury of private transport in rural areas. We may face a choice among substantial change in settlement patterns, a substantial decrease in the quality of rural life, or having the good sense to develop public transit systems to serve smaller communities. How many communities in the United States of less than 20,000 have a bus system?

This is an area where technology is a mixed blessing. The automobile revolutionized rural life. The internal combustion engine and similar mechanical devices revolutionized agriculture. The farmer could get to town. The rural person could get to town to shop and to work. But now the automobile may prove to be a fickle mistress. If we cannot get gas, rural life again could become substantially different from that in urban areas.

Public Safety, Police and Fire -- In public safety services there is also a distinction between what is available in smaller communities and the standard in the city. It has been harder for rural communities to support a full-time police department because a minimum department of two or three people, perhaps more than adequate for the job, involves a cost spread across very few people. Community jealousy has prevented the development of countywide systems, with small towns of a thousand or so insisting on having their own cop.

Fire service typically has been provided by volunteer fire departments, financing their equipment through bake sales and state aid. The very remote families have built ponds to provide water for fire emergencies. The general standard of fire protection in rural areas is indicated by substantially higher fire insurance rates and even uninsurable risks. I know of no potential technological breakthrough here. The same economic problems are encountered in trying to provide fire mains in very sparsely populated areas. The cost of running the lines is high. The only breakthrough I can suggest is one of organization. At the risk of being tarred and feathered I would like to suggest that many volunteer fire operations are poorly organized and over-equipped for some kinds of fires. Consider their pride in having the most modern kind of equipment and emergency vehicles. They are poorly utilized because of the intermittent availability of trained people. I once saw a fire truck pull up to a brush fire in a township where I lived. It was during the day when most of the people were far away at work. The man driving the truck, an unemployable local, did not even know how to turn on the pump.

Ambulance service is often provided by the volunteer fire department or the local mortician and it is a scandal in many rural areas. The people who drive ambulances sometimes do not know the first thing about first aid. Many people are injured more by their journey to the hospital than by the accident. The federal government is setting some welcomed standards for ambulance services using interstate highways. This is running into resistance in some parts of the country, but I think it is a substantial step forward. When you have an accident, you aren't in a position to shop around for ambulance service; someone needs to be concerned with the standards of care.

Recreation -- Recreation is not a service small town and rural people have worried much about. Typically, they feel that through private means they have much more available to them than the city person. Certainly there is open space, there are fishing spots, and picnicking opportunities. But recreation today involves more than these bucolic endeavors. Young people want to have a gym they can play in after school or learn how to play the violin or make pottery. Adults want to be able to take a course in welding, or learn how to make candles. Here again the most substantial investment rural people make is in a set of buildings that they use only a few hours a day--the schools. Under the sponsorship of the Mott Foundation, in Michigan, several school systems developed what was called the community school concept. The schools are used for as many hours of the day as possible to provide a broad range of recreation and education opportunities to all segments of the community. Again, this is something rural communities could do with a very limited amount of money. It would mean a substantial increase in the quality of life and the opportunities available to them. The only thing that prevents it is narrowmindedness and bullheadedness by the principals and school superintendents. They love to lock that school up at 5 o'clock and polish the floors.

This, then, is a very quick review of the major services in rural areas and the difficulties in providing these services at a reasonable cost. If rural and small town people are not getting the same quality public services as their urban cousins, are they entitled to them by right in the United States? If so, who should pay the bill? This is the final concern I would like to discuss.

The Rights to Public Services

Rights arise in political theory through some natural law, or through a constitutional guarantee or legislation. In the United States we have said that people, no matter where they want to live, are entitled to such local government services as they are willing and able to pay for. In rural areas this has meant substantially lower levels than in cities. In fact, a city was among other things, a community of people who incorporated in order to provide themselves with higher levels of public service.

Is there any generally recognized entitlement to a high level of public service no matter where one chooses to live? If one looks at practice in the United States, the answer is no. Great Britain at one time had a policy to provide public water, at one price, anywhere. This became too costly to serve single houses far down a country road and had to be abandoned. We have practices in the United States which have proved feasible, such as TVA's one price for power anywhere within the valley and similar costing arrangements, but until recently local public services were paid for with local funds and the entitlement was to whatever local people were willing and able to pay for.

Education has been at least partially an exception. State funds have been used to underwrite a minimum level of education for every child in the state. Because of the interest of rural legislators, substantial portions of state funds have been used to finance transportation systems, something that particularly aids remote and rural regions. There have been even some modest moves toward policies that would say in effect that one has a right to access to a quality education no matter where one chooses to live. In fact, I encourage the adoption of such a statement by the Virginia Rural Affairs Study Commission. While it adopted the statement, I do not believe it has yet been endorsed by the State General Assembly.

It may not be viable to have such a policy in northern Maine or in many parts of the west but I believe in most of the east the densities are such that it should be possible to make quality education available to almost all school children.

Courts are moving in the direction of establishing the nature of one's right to public education. The California Supreme Court in *Serrano* v. *Priest* said government could not limit one's entitlement to what the local district could pay for out of its property tax. However, in the *Rodriquez* case the United States courts refused to enlarge on this finding. I know of no court cases that have been successfully pursued to establish that a person is entitled to an equally high quality education no matter where he chooses to live within a state. I also doubt we shall see the successful pursuit of such a case.

The most dangerous and financially foolhardy proposition I know of in the provision of rural and small town public services is the notion that every small town of 100, 300, 1,000, or 5,000 is entitled to such substantial federal aid as it may require to provide water, sewer, and the other necessary infrastructure to attract industry. This is the burden of the case being put forth by small town officials all across the United States. A substantial amount of money has been wasted by an inability to ration federal aid funds. The towns need the public service facilities; they need the infrastructure; they need it to make living in the town healthy. This cannot be denied. They also need it to attract industry. But providing these costly services and facilities is not sufficient to bring about industrial development of small towns. There is only so much industry to go around and even with a sewer and a treatment plant, a town of 300 is not a very likely prospect for industrial locations.

We cannot afford to build facilities in every town in the United States. We face some hard choices on whether the people wish to pay for the facilities themselves out of local funds as most American communities have done or whether they wish to regroup into some larger communities.

The Appalachian program in its initial years attempted to draw a distinction between the kinds of public services that served people--education and health care--and those that served economic development. Its policies were that every person in Appalachia was entitled to assistance in health care and education because this helped equip people for better lives no matter where they chose to live. The other kind of grants or services included those promoting the economic or industrial development of a community. In these the ARC tried to set priorities and concentrate the funds in those communities that seemed to have the best economic growth prospects. Some of the states have continually pressed to water down the concept, to move back to the "something-for-everybody" system. Revenue sharing may water it down further. One rural community I know of received a check for $78. What can you do with $78? Spreading the money too thin across too many communities will mean minimal results from substantial federal investments.

There is no natural right or established practice in the United States that says one is entitled to an equal standard of public services no matter where one chooses to live. The cold, hard economic facts are these: In substantial portions of the United States it should prove possible to provide adequate levels of public services for reasonable costs. But some people live outside of these domains and they will face the choice of accepting lower standards of public service or moving. Even if all the resources of the federal government were devoted to this task there would not be enough money to sewer every town in the United States. And it would be a foolhardy investment. Faced with the energy crisis, rising demands for public services and high costs, it is important that we adopt sensible and rational strategies for the provision of public services to rural areas. This means opening up our minds to technological and organizational possibilities that are available to us even now. It involves having the political courage to say no to financing white elephants in towns that are too small to provide public services at a reasonable price. It involves adopting a different strategy for federal grants-in-aid and state grants-in-aid in the very remote regions of the west and the few remote portions of the east, a different strategy for general community development in an urbanized nation. Finally, it involves making an investment in research for new technologies, new public service systems, and new institutional mechanisms to enable us to provide an increasingly high level of public services to smaller communities.

DISCUSSION OF SESSION I

Wendy Rayner

I'd be curious to know why housing and manpower were left out of your list of service items for rural areas?

Kenneth Rainey

Housing I could say yes because that really hasn't laid in the public domain. Manpower, because I was afraid of displaying my ignorance, but I would be happy to give an enthusiastic endorsement for the kind of comprehensive manpower system that is needed for a rural area. That is what you have been talking about for years. It has been embodied in the manpower services bill to provide hookups between offices so that an office in Pikeville, Kentucky can find out whether they need welders in Akron and Pittsburgh. That is the direction we need to go so that you can also offer to the migrating rural person more than just a yellow card that says go see so-and so in Akron. You have got to be able to help him get there and stay there and successfully hold that job.

Ralph Gildroy

The one thing that is bothering everyone in Montana is education. I don't have the exact wording, but in effect it states that equal education will be provided to anyone in the state of Montana. This is bothering a lot of people.

Kenneth Rainey

Yes, I am pleased to know about that. Thank you. Because that is where I think there is going to be difficulty defining what that is, and to deliver it. The answer is to look into that.

Myrtle Reul

My question is very similar to the original one. This has to do with social welfare. I noticed that you had it on the original chart. In many of those remote rural areas the check coming in from Social Security or from the welfare department is always larger than anything else. So again in comprehensive planning I wondered if it were like opening a can of worms and therefore you might have intended to omit it?

Kenneth Rainey

No, I didn't intend to omit it. In fact there is more in what I have written down than what I have said, but I will admit that I should have given it more emphasis even here today than I have. I remember very vividly an image of what this problem is. We had hearings for the Virginia

Rural Affairs Study Commission and an old man wandered in and described his plight. He was dependent on food stamps. In Virginia they say in some counties you are guilty of a sin if you happen to apply for food stamps, and so the county makes it very difficult to get the service. And he arrived. He took a cab with the last five dollars he could get to get there. He had no way of getting to town other than hiring a cab and paying out that amount of money which was a lot of his income. They told him to come back Thursday. So I think in welfare again we need to have organizational, it isn't technology, breakthroughs in trying to bring about some more enlightenment.

Louis Levine

I would like to ask this question about the access to public services and the demanders of the public services. Whether there are distinctions in rural areas between people-oriented services designed to raise living standards and economically-oriented services for private enterprise purposes; for water, sewerage, lease protection, and so on, encouraging enterprises to come in, rather than for the people's own interest?

Kenneth Rainey

Yes, I am glad you asked that question. Again it is something that I have dealt with in the text. Because this was the policy of the Appalachian program, to say that people had an equal entitlement no matter where they lived. They should have a better education system and better health system. These services that aided people were available throughout the region but those that were oriented toward industrial development were only to be located in the growth centers and those are the places that seemed capable of sustaining industrial development.

Louis Levine

That would mean then that the growth center should start paying for it and tax rates should be different.

Kenneth Rainey

Yes, I think so too and that is another talk that I'm emotional about because I think there has been a major rip-off in this field.

John McCauley

I am sure there are some other aspects of this if you want to continue to talk about it in other sessions of the conference, but Collette tells me that we have coffee and donuts waiting.

SESSION II

ISSUES IN THE DELIVERY OF MANPOWER SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

29/30

OPENING REMARKS FOR SESSION II - ISSUES IN THE DELIVERY OF MANPOWER SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

Joseph Kasper
U.S. Department of Labor

I would like to open my remarks by expressing gratitude to the person who was responsible for preparing the agenda and conferring the title of Emeritus upon me. I had always thought this title was reserved for university professors, deans and department heads, and to now find it attached to a retired Rural Manpower Service Director is indeed gratifying.

I also understand that an Emeritus has an automatic license to reminisce about the good old days and I would like to take you back to September, 1935, when I started my career in the Milwaukee office of the Wisconsin State Employment Service.

The office was located at 511 A. West Wells Street, a rather unsavory street noted primarily for its sleazy bars, pawn shops, and greasy spoon lunch rooms. The "A" in the address designated a second floor, and the office was located above a Greek restaurant in which none of the staff ever dared to eat.

On my first day, I climbed a long flight of rickety stairs which were so narrow it was necessary to turn sideways if you met someone coming in the opposite direction.

It was no problem finding the manager since the entire office was less than half the size of this room. After introducing myself, the manager escorted me to a cubicle about six feet square which contained a battered old wooden desk and two straight-backed chairs. He pointed to two wooden boxes on the desk and said, "In one box you will find applications of people who are looking for jobs, and in the other you will find orders from employers who are looking for workers. Your job is to get the two together." As he turned to leave, he said almost as an afterthought, "By the way, you are in charge of the Wholesale and Retail Sales Department."

After this training and orientation session of at least five minutes, I sat down and started matching people with jobs.

As a department head, I always thought I deserved a better salary than $120 per month, even though I was the entire department.

We were involved in a version of the Rural Manpower Service even in those days because in the most remote corner of the office was our farm labor interviewer who did a most effective job of placing year-round workers on farms as far distant as northern Illinois.

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It is perhaps unfortunate that we no longer have statistics on our productivity during those days. From the standpoint of job placements, which was our sole activity, I am certain that our production per staff member was much higher than it is today, even with the aid of sophisticated Job Banks and Automated Matching Systems.

It seems strange that 38 years after I started my career, the Department of Labor is again stressing job placements, and policy now requires the ES agencies to again concentrate their efforts on locating job vacancies and placing people in jobs.

I would like to spend a few minutes telling you about the rural community to which I recently retired, a subject I believe will be germane to the problems to be dealt with here today.

We bought a home in Ozaukee County, Wisconsin, which is north of Milwaukee County. We live in the city of Mequon--which is unusual because it is the second largest city in Wisconsin by geographic area, but had a population of only 12,100 in 1970. That population was an increase of 42 percent over the 1960 Census, a typical example of the rapid increase in areas adjacent to metropolitan areas such as Milwaukee, which is 20 miles south of us.

Six miles north of Mequon is the city of Cedarburg; the 1970 Census placed its population at 7,697. A 48 percent increase has been experienced during the past 10 years and the 1970 population is expected to double by 1980.

Cedarburg was settled in 1842, and in 1855 the largest woolen mill in the United States (at that time) was built there. The old mill with its three-foot stone walls still stands, but it now houses a variety of specialty and craft shops which are great favorites of our Chicago visitors.

Six miles north of Cedarburg is the town of Grafton. With a population of only 5,998 in 1970, Grafton today has 40 different industrial plants with total sales of over $50,000,000, employment of over 2,000 people, and an annual payroll of $17,000,000.

I might add that all three communities have very active planning commissions and industrial development groups which have been responsible for the establishment of industrial parks in which new plants seem to grow overnight.

Now let me tell you about our weekly newspaper, the *News-Graphic*. It is hardly a *Chicago Tribune*, but it is a fascinating paper nevertheless. It carries no news about Watergate, but it tells all there is to know about Ozaukee County. For example, all traffic violations are listed in great detail by name and address, of those arrested, type of violation, and amount of fine. Final divorce decrees are noted in great detail. If you ever need ambulance service, you will find your name and address in the paper as well as the hospital to which you were taken.

I did not bring this latest copy of the *News-Graphic* to discuss the news coverage, but rather to discuss the advertising section which carries a wealth of help-wanted ads. Let me read just a few examples of the types of job openings available in the semi-rural area in which I now live--auto mechanics, key punch operator, machine setup man, salesman, registered and licensed practical nurse, lathe operator, grinder operator, foundry labor, blueprint clerk, welder, toolmaker, machine operators of all kinds, security guard, medical technologists, respiratory technician, pharmacist, secretary, typist, bartender, punch press, brake and shear operators, bookkeeper, mechanical and electrical engineer. I could go on, but I believe you will agree that the type and number of help-wanted ads would do credit to a metropolitan newspaper.

The Milwaukee office of the Wisconsin State Employment Service has jurisdiction over Ozaukee County and the employers seeking the workers I have just detailed.

On Monday of this week I called the manager of the Milwaukee office who is an old friend from the good old days of the 1930s. When I asked him about the service provided to the people and employers of Ozaukee County, his response was really no great surprise to me. As I expected and suspected, it was "Nothing." When asked the reason why, I received the usual, "Budget cuts, shortage of staff, and inability to serve Milwaukee, much less the surrounding rural areas." The ES does provide one half-day per week itinerant service to Port Washington which is 8 miles further north of Grafton and about 30 miles north of Milwaukee. Only UI claims are processed with no manpower services provided, and that is the only ES presence in a county with a booming economy and a rapidly growing industrial base.

I hope my remarks will help set the stage for the speakers who will follow, and I hope they will tell us how they have solved such problems in providing manpower services to rural areas.

MANPOWER SERVICE NEEDS IN RURAL AREAS*

Marvin E. Konyha
U.S. Department of Agriculture

The Current Rural Manpower Situation

Rural manpower problems manifest themselves in two, seemingly contradictory, phenomena: the earning of unacceptably low levels of income by a large segment of the rural population and, simultaneously, a rather severe shortage of workers in certain skilled, relatively high-paying occupations. On the one hand we see extensive unemployment, underemployment, and even nonseeking for employment in much of rural America. On the other hand many rural areas are experiencing a shortage of skilled equipment operators, skilled mechanics and repairmen, skilled livestock handlers, and other skilled workers.

How This All Came About

This present state of affairs is the result of our aggressive implementation of past rural manpower policies. These past policies were usually more implicit than explicit, and developed more by default than by any direct, conscious efforts. However, they did generate the system of rural manpower programs and services (including nonprograms and nonservices) which led to the current rural manpower situation.

The philosophical basis for the rural manpower policies was the arbitrary division of the factors of production into the four categories: land, labor, capital, and management. Since labor was a variable cost of production, the greater the supply of (unskilled) labor, the less costly it would be. The practical basis for past rural manpower policies and programs was the need for a large, unskilled rural labor force. Both agriculture and rural agricultural and natural resource-based industries required large numbers of relatively unskilled workers. If the rural labor force became educated, it either began to compete for ownership (control of land and capital) and management positions in the rural economy, or migrated to urban areas where the returns on capital invested in the human resource were greater.

Rural manpower policies in this system required programs that provided a minimum level of basic education, vocational education only for

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The author expresses appreciation to John Bottum, John McCauley, and Karl Munson for helpful comments on an earlier draft.

agricultural and "homemaking" occupations, and as little information as possible about alternative employment opportunities outside agriculture and the rural economy in general.

These broad generalizations undoubtedly overstate the case to some extent. No one would argue that our rural manpower policies, both implicit and explicit, have remained as archaic as described here. Yet the present rural manpower situation, as characterized above, is our legacy, our millstone, of the implementation of just such an out-moded rural manpower policy in the all-too-recent past.

There are at least four other (implicit) out-moded rural manpower policies which have contributed to the current situation in rural America. First is the strongly entrenched belief, and practice, in the field of public education that the secondary school has fulfilled its social obligation when any one of the following three outcomes occurs:

(1) A youth graduates from high school (irrespective of his level of literacy or vocational skill attainment);

(2) A youth drops out of school on his or her own volition;

(3) A youth becomes an "involuntary dropout," i.e., is kicked out because of an inability to conform to the norms of the educational system.[1]

The relatively recent addition of vocational training programs, in other than the traditional agricultural and home economics areas, and work experience programs in rural public school systems illustrate how firmly this manpower development approach has been entrenched in the public schools. We still have a long way to go in removing the social stigma attached to students who choose a vocational education curriculum over the more prestigious college preparatory course of study.

Another policy has influenced both the concept and the content of manpower services. That is, manpower services have consisted only of matching workers with job openings, of narrowly interpreted "employment services." In rural America the primary public, or recipients, of this public service were agricultural producers faced with large seasonal fluctuations in their needs for labor. Further, as the domestic rural labor force declined in size, with corresponding increases in price, rural manpower services consisted largely of supplying those agricultural producers with lower cost off-shore and Bracero labor. Changes from this basic rural manpower program of the U.S. Department of Labor have been made only recently and require no elaboration here. Some elements of the program still remain to cause annual traumas for the Rural Manpower Service.

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[1] An article in the November 29, 1973 issue of *The Washington Post* reported on a study by the Southern Regional Council which would indicate that this program is still actively utilized, particularly in recently integrated public school systems.

A third policy, which also characterized manpower services in general, was the perception of the Employment Service as the "service of last resort." Both employers and workers applied this principle; when all other efforts fail, then contact the Employment Service. This policy was so well implemented in rural areas that, as Tweeten reported to this conference a year ago,[2] it appears that a large majority of low-income rural household heads still (in 1970) would not seek employment through the Employment Service.

The final out-moded rural manpower policy which will be identified here was the extremely narrow rural manpower thrust of the Cooperative Extension Service as it evolved over the years after 1914. Extension's implementation of its rural manpower program has been almost totally determined by its acceptance of the philosophical distinctions described above. That is, Extension's primary focus has been on the land, capital, and management factors of production, with attention to labor only as a variable, and costly, factor of production. Despite a more broad-based initial rural manpower orientation, Extension's rural manpower thrust has concentrated upon farm management and production and marketing efficiencies. The primary Extension rural manpower-human resource development emphasis has been on additional investment in the management capabilities of farm and agribusiness managers. This focus, coupled with the land and management orientation of national agricultural policy and programs, has contributed significantly to the current deplorable rural manpower situation in this country.

Approaching the Issue of Rural Manpower Service Needs

Given the present rural manpower situation, what are the most pressing rural manpower service needs? A subsector study approach to the analysis of manpower service needs in rural America can help answer this question by specifying needs, and the linkages between them, more clearly.

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[2] *Luther Tweeten, "Manpower Implications of the Rural Development Act of 1972," Manpower Planning for Jobs in Rural America, Proceedings of a Conference, (East Lansing, Michigan: Center for Rural Manpower and Public Affairs, Michigan State University, March, 1973), pp. 35-51.*

The subsector study approach could help agricultural economic production and marketing researchers reorient their approach to market analysis. In organizing a study of a subsector of the food and fiber sector, or any other sector, the scope and comprehensiveness of the study differ from more conventional approaches. In Shaffer's words: "The area of research is simply defined to include both the vertical and horizontal relationships in a significant part of the food and fiber sector."[3]

Subsector studies are closely tied to the concept of a systems orientation approach to analysis of a particular subset of economic activities. A systems orientation has been succinctly described as follows:

> By (a systems orientation) I mean analysis of an economic activity in the context of a broader system. Such analysis would take into account feedback, sequences, and externalities. It includes the idea of simulation in the sense of projecting the flow of consequences from the dynamics of ongoing processes or from potential modification in the subsector. Orientation is toward understanding the interdependencies and the effects which are not immediate or obvious.[4]

An initial effort in applying a systems orientation to the analysis of rural manpower service needs has led to the following conceptualization.

A Human Resource Development Systems Approach

One of the major difficulties in identifying manpower service needs in rural areas lies in the traditional conception of what constitutes manpower services.

A systems orientation identifies manpower services as essentially a subset of the more comprehensive human resource development system. The human resource development system is, in turn, one of the subsectors of what can be identified as the community resource development sector of the economic system. Manpower services can then be placed in their proper relationship to the broader system, as well as being subdivided into their most essential functions. A diagrammatic representation of this classification system appears in Figure 1.

It should be noted that this model is based upon a human resource development policy of equal opportunity for all persons to receive an optimum level of services in the human resource development subsector. The

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[3] *James D. Shaffer, "On the Concept of Subsector Studies,"* AJAE, *Vol. 55, No. 2 (May, 1973), p. 333.*

[4] Ibid., *p. 334.*

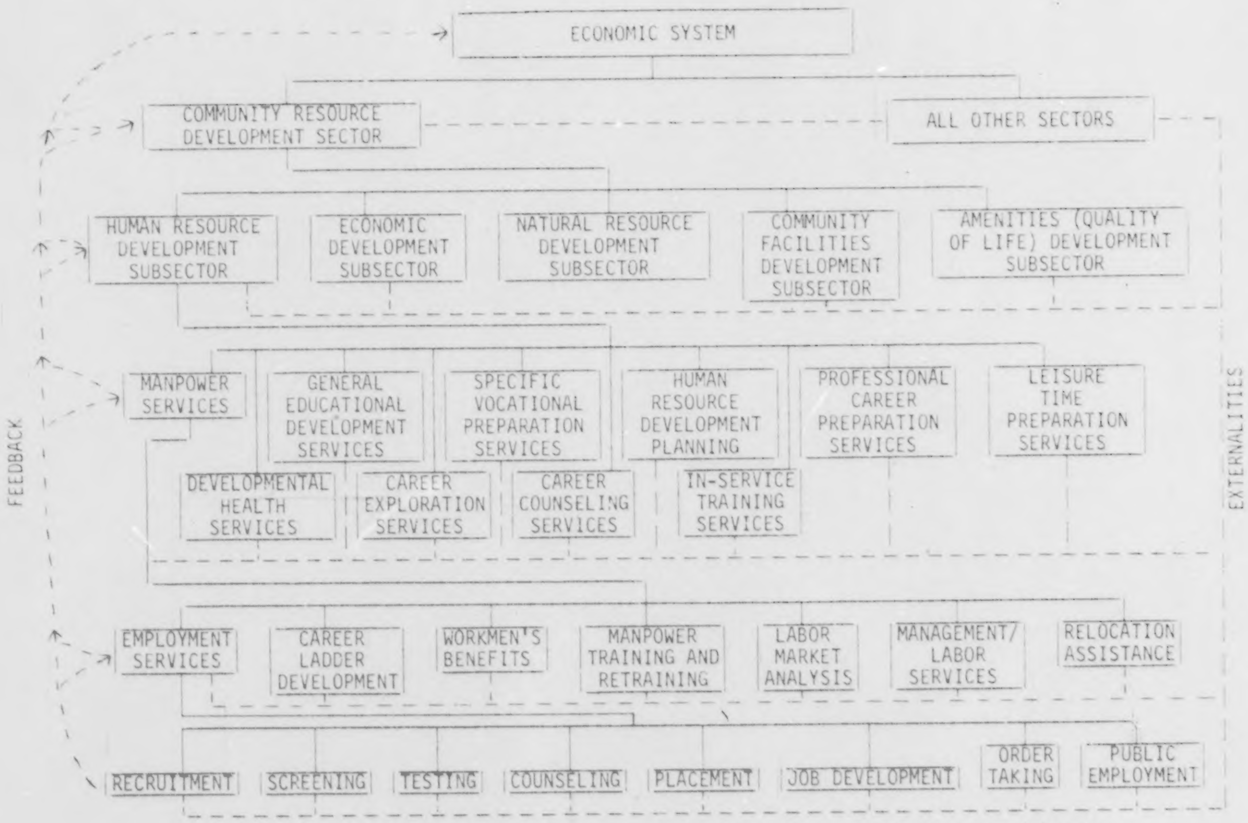
ECONOMIC SYSTEM
COMMUNITY RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT SECTOR
ALL OTHER SECTORS
HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT SUBSECTOR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SUBSECTOR
NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT SUBSECTOR
COMMUNITY FACILITIES DEVELOPMENT SUBSECTOR
AMENITIES (QUALITY OF LIFE) DEVELOPMENT SUBSECTOR
MANPOWER SERVICES
GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICES
SPECIFIC VOCATIONAL PREPARATION SERVICES
HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING
PROFESSIONAL CAREER PREPARATION SERVICES
LEISURE TIME PREPARATION SERVICES
DEVELOPMENTAL HEALTH SERVICES
CAREER EXPLORATION SERVICES
CAREER COUNSELING SERVICES
IN-SERVICE TRAINING SERVICES
EMPLOYMENT SERVICES
CAREER LADDER DEVELOPMENT
WORKMEN'S BENEFITS
MANPOWER TRAINING AND RETRAINING
LABOR MARKET ANALYSIS
MANAGEMENT/LABOR SERVICES
RELOCATION ASSISTANCE
RECRUITMENT
SCREENING
TESTING
COUNSELING
PLACEMENT
JOB DEVELOPMENT
ORDER TAKING
PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT
FEEDBACK
EXTERNALITIES

Figure 1 -- Diagrammatic Representation of the Human Resource Development Subsector

ultimate objective of this subsector is to provide adequate investment in the community's human resources so that each person may become a successfully and fully employed, well-adjusted, and productive member of the community, contributing positively to its overall resource development. This human resource development system makes clear that it is not simply a question of what manpower services are needed in rural areas. It is rather a question of (1) what human resource development services are needed; (2) what agency or institution is, or should be, charged with the responsibility for delivering the necessary human resource development services in rural areas; and (3) why aren't these responsibilities being carried out? The human resource development systems approach clearly identifies the necessary services and permits the public decision-making process to assign responsibility for service delivery to the appropriate public institution.

By way of illustration, consider the following. The subsector diagram identifies several human resource development services in addition to manpower services. For the most part these are services which, when delivered, would probably be best delivered by other than the traditional manpower service or Employment Service agencies. Specifically, all will agree that the public schools are expected to provide general educational development services to all citizens, presumably as children. Two additional areas traditionally overlooked by the public schools are career exploration and career counseling (for all but college-bound youth). As noted, specific vocational preparation has received too little attention by the public educational system.

Furthermore, is it too unreasonable to expect the public schools to expend as much effort in placing vocational program graduates in employment positions as they expend in placing college-bound students in the colleges of their choice?[5] Should Employment Service staff or public school counselors trained by Employment Service personnel be responsible for administering vocational aptitude tests?

Other Implications for Rural Manpower Service Needs From the Human Resource Development Systems Approach

Perhaps the most immediate implication from this human resource development systems approach is the need to adopt just such an approach in analyzing rural manpower service needs and in organizing the delivery system for those services. The human resource development system implies, for example, that geography is the only feature that distinguishes rural from nonrural manpower service needs. All human resources require the same development services irrespective of locality; there is no "rural" human resource development system distinct from the nonrural system. The national human resource development subsector must be viewed holistically in relation to the broader community resource development sector and the overall economic system.

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[5] The State of New Mexico recently passed legislation requiring all public school systems to develop a career education program. An interesting and innovating program has been developed, under a federal grant, by the Career Service Center of the Vocational Skills Center, Bernalillo Public Schools, Bernalillo, New Mexico.

Such a systems approach also points up the need for more comprehensive planning and programming and more effective coordination in the delivery of human resource development services. The feedback function explicit in the systems model facilitates the establishment of a human resource development subsector monitoring network. When the outputs of the subsector are unsatisfactory, as when a person does not attain a sufficient skill level to maintain employment, this information is fed back into the system and requires that the subsector be adapted to correct against repeat production of unacceptable outputs.

The external impacts on the system can also be specified. Unemployment that results from the general level of activity in the economic system could be specified, and the model would suggest alternative solutions, in this instance as compared to the situation in which unemployment is due to inadequate investment in the human resource. In essence, this systems model would specify some form of public employment program, as opposed to stepped-up manpower training programs, when such unemployment occurs.

Another externality more clearly identified in this model is the relationship between manpower services and transportation services. Transportation problems are often identified as a major barrier to the employment of low-income rural people. The systems approach can specify the relationship between the level or extent of community transportation facilities and services development and the rural employment situation.

This systems approach also has significant implications concerning the need for remedial human resource development services by "disadvantaged" individuals. The approach implies that is it not the failure of the individual but a failure of the human resource development subsector when an individual requires remedial services such as adult basic education or manpower training.

A final implication of this systems approach and perhaps one of the most significant implications for the purpose of this conference, is the distinction it draws between manpower services and employment services. The model clearly defines the two services, recognizing employment services as only one of several manpower services. The question "how can *manpower services* best be delivered in rural areas?" then becomes a different question from "how can *employment services* best be delivered in rural areas?" Presumably the answers will be different as well.

It may be noted that this systems model, as presented, has for the most part overlooked those manpower services generally provided to employers. This is because our emphasis is on the human resource rather than on economic development. There is nothing to prevent employer services or services to any other institution or agency which contribute to human resource development from being included in the systems model. It is not intended that this human resource development systems model is complete as presented here.

Concluding Comments

I have identified five rural manpower policies, some implicit, some explicit, which influenced the past structure of manpower service delivery systems in rural America. It was these delivery systems, or nonsystems, which created the present untenable rural manpower situation. In addressing the issue of which manpower services should be delivered in rural areas to correct this situation, I have found it necessary to think broadly in terms of the complete human resource development system or subsector. A systems approach has enabled me to begin to see the linkages between the various human resource development service needs more clearly, and to appreciate more fully the externalities impinging on the functions of this subsector.

To properly determine the manpower service needs in rural areas, it is essential to place manpower services in their proper relationship to other human resource development services. The human resource development service responsibilities, including manpower services, of the Rural Manpower Service and of other agencies as well can then be delineated.

This systems approach to the manpower service needs of rural areas has implications for policy change and suggests a model for structuring rural manpower problems research.

OPERATING PROBLEMS IN RURAL EMPLOYMENT SERVICES DELIVERY

James Hillberry
Wyoming Employment Service -
Cody, Wyoming

Our office is located in Cody, Wyoming, and serves Yellowstone National Park, Park County and the north half of Big Horn County. This area comprises approximately 11,670 square miles with an estimated population of 22,500, giving us a population density of about two persons per square mile. We have two population centers of approximately 5,100 persons and eight other communities ranging from 50 to 2,000 persons. There are seven school facilities with grades one through twelve and one two-year community college.

The distance from our office to our most distant employers is 135 miles to Mammoth, Yellowstone Park in the northwest, and 65 miles to Himes in the northeast.

Primary industries in the area are tourism, agriculture, oil production, and refining. These industries in themselves are very seasonally oriented in terms of work force. The combined average annual labor force is approximately 12,300 which includes about 1,600 employed by agriculture. The work force is quite seasonal with a peak of 16,300 during June and a low of 9,400 in the month of January. For example, the labor force in Yellowstone Park reaches a peak of around 3,600 in June and a low of 380 in January. Our largest employer has a work force of approximately 400, of which 250 are office and professional workers. The majority of employers have from three to eight employees.

Minority and Spanish Americans make up about 4 percent of the total population with the Spanish Americans accounting for about 96 percent of the total minority population.

In order to reach as many people and employers as possible, we have established an Itinerant Service Program which features trips to our larger population centers on a regularly scheduled basis. To establish this program, it was necessary to find facilities which would be provided on an "in-kind" basis because funds were not available for rent. In Powell, the county commissioners had a facility which housed the D-PASS, Public Health Nurse, and Mental Health Counselor, and it was arranged to use the nurses' offices on a one day per week basis. Currently, the facility has been enlarged and we now have our own office with telephone and reception services. Also located at this facility is the D-PASS, Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, Mental Health Counselor, and Public Health Nurse. It is a comprehensive service which has proven very beneficial to all concerned since representatives of all these departments are there on the same day. Big Horn County was a more difficult problem in obtaining facilities, however, the mayor has provided use of the Council Chambers and telephone service in the City Hall.

Schedules call for weekly trips to the Powell annex and bi-weekly trips to the Big Horn County area. During the summer months, one trip per month is scheduled into Yellowstone Park.

The schedules of our visits to the various communities are distributed to places where a large segment of the population will have access to them, such as county buildings, post offices, D-PASS offices, schools, etc.

Staff time schedules call for open mornings so representatives can handle services such as making employer contacts, screening Job Corps applicants or MDTA applicants, doing WIN assessments, writing some type of training contract, or following up on current enrollees at the Community College. During afternoons staff members are at the itinerant office for application taking, placement and referral activity, or providing other needed services.

To supplement the Itinerant Service we have established a "volunteer employment representative." This is generally a person from one of the smaller communities who has contact with large numbers of people in their respective areas, such as a secretary in the ASCS office, a county agent's office, or a town clerk. This person does the referral and placement activity and obtains information about job openings and available workers. He is responsible for notifying our District Office of his activities.

Another important means of getting information and services to our area is through the news media, and again, most of these services are on an "in-kind" basis. The newspapers will print articles at any time, and at one radio station, a daily Employment Service report is aired during a prime time (12:40 p.m.) which provides working people current job information. We have found this particular program to be very beneficial and effective in generating response from the public.

These activities, in general, provide good access to those who have available transportation and a means of making contact at one of our itinerant points. For the person who does not have transportation, we make arrangements for a staff person to go to private homes and provide the services when it can be mutually arranged.

I may have given you the impression that it is not too difficult to provide services to a rural area. This is not really the case. We still have 11,670 square miles, 10 communities, and approximately 22,500 people to serve with only four staff members. It is quite difficult to divide these people into eight parts so as to be in all the communities on a daily basis. Many times we cannot get the services provided at the time they are requested. For the most part, an agreeable time may be worked out at a later date when we can get to the community.

Many of the situations presented here have been everyday problems which can be coped with on a local level, but I believe the "real problems" might best be presented by the following questions.

(1) Why do the national and regional offices expect "great changes" and "equity of access" when they do not provide the resources necessary and often reduce the ones we have?

(2) Why are acknowledgements of proposals not received in the states and where is the technical support requested?

(3) What about that branch office which was established but because of an audit exception it was closed and "refunded" operational costs required?

(4) Presently there is great concern about providing rural services. What is "rural"?

(5) Why haven't the regional offices accepted plans of service on a timely basis so adjustments can be made as they develop?

DELIVERY OF MANPOWER SERVICES TO RURAL AREAS

Rudolph E. Gonzales
*Colorado Department of Labor and Employment -
Alamosa, Colorado*

My presentation will focus on delivery of manpower services to rural areas, using the San Luis Valley area as an example, and I will emphasize the problems encountered in that delivery process.

The San Luis Valley is located in the southern part of the State of Colorado. It covers an area of approximately 100 square miles, is surrounded by high mountains, and has an elevation of about 7,700 feet. The Valley has a population of approximately 38,000 people, of which about 46 percent are Spanish American. The largest number of available jobs are found in four major industrial areas--services, agriculture, retail trade, and construction. Federal, state, and local government agencies employ about 25 percent of the total employed population. There are six counties in the Valley--three of which are classified as the poorest in the state. The median annual income is about $6,092 (Spanish American median income is $4,401). Only 50 percent of the area population age 25 and older have high school diplomas; 64 percent is the state percentage.

A few of the problems found in the San Luis Valley are similar to those in other rural areas in Colorado, but for the most part the Valley differs from other rural areas. These differences involve the population's cultural background, ethnic origins, social patterns, religion, income levels, educational levels, personal interests and many others. Major problems for most rural areas are communication, transportation, health, income, and jobs, and the Valley shares these problems. However, they must be considered greater in the Valley because of its isolated location and depressed situation. To make matters worse, the Valley usually is ignored by the federal and state governments; the only time it becomes important is during an election year.

The San Luis Valley is served by two employment offices--one in Alamosa and one in Monte Vista. The Monte Vista office does not have the staff to provide manpower services; therefore, the Alamosa office has to assist whenever possible. The Alamosa office is primarily responsible for administration of programs for the three depressed counties. Services delivered to these counties are MDTA, Job Corps, Emergency Employment, Food Stamps, WIN, application taking, testing, counseling, job information, OJT, NAB-JOBS, CVETS, and general labor information.

In order to provide these services, office personnel are assigned outreach work in the respective communities. Office personnel includes a counselor, four employment officers, a secretary, a manager, and a three person WIN team. Some of these services have been curtailed due to reduction in staff and funds. In the past, two counselors were assigned to outreach and one to the local office, but now only one is available for all activities. These persons have to be well informed about all services and programs, and knowledgeable about the people they are servicing. They must, in fact, be able to disseminate general information about everything that is happening in the area. They are considered to be "walking information centers."

Currently, the major on-going manpower program in the Valley is the WIN program. The Alamosa WIN team is responsible for delivering services to the entire San Luis Valley area. Six counties and four welfare directors and their staffs are involved. This team has to be very tactful and must maintain good working relationships with the welfare departments as well as the participants. About five people are involved with each participant. A great deal of cooperation and good communication is required to operate the program effectively. And the element of time is important to the provision of services to the entire area.

Delivering services to communities is not easy; several things must be considered, such as space, travel, time, etc. Coordination of all activities is very important in order to avoid duplication of services, as well as to eliminate having two or more staff members in the same area at the same time. However, sometimes this is unavoidable, since the services needed cannot be delivered by the same person. But by coordinating all activities, time and money can be saved. Every effort is made to improve and provide better services, and to conserve time, energy and money.

Outreach personnel work with individuals, organizations, schools, government agencies, and local governments. This requires that a worker be available after working hours, on nonworking days, and for night meetings. Schools, especially, frequently request some type of service from the local office.

Since these three counties are the poorest in the state, the schools are not financially able to acquire the necessary personnel and facilities for their students. They depend on the Department of Employment for testing and counseling services and vocational information is supplied by the local employment office. In addition to the schools, Adams State College and the San Luis Area Vocational School utilize the services and employment information from the local office.

The Valley is fortunate to have these two institutions, but they are only able to help a certain percent of the population. Only a few of the poor and disadvantaged are reached by these institutions because of time and financial constraints. Other agencies, such as the Migrant Council, El Centro de Zapata, a Research Center, Vocational Rehabilitation, etc., also request services from the Employment Department. The major function of these agencies is to help the poor and the disadvantaged.

The percentage of people living at the poverty level in the Valley is the highest in the U. S. Schools and training facilities account for part of the reason for this, since the Valley has the highest school dropout rate in the state. It was found that about 23 percent of the jobs were low paying and low status, whereas only 14 percent of the statewide jobs fell in this category. The unemployment rate is about 10 percent, again the highest percentage of the state.

The fact that the Valley has the highest school dropout rate and many unskilled people makes it less attractive for new industry to locate in the area. The high school graduates and more aggressive young people leave the Valley to secure training and employment elsewhere. Most of them locate in the metropolitan areas. The people who remain in the area are those with less education and skills. They are not unable to learn a trade or better themselves, but decide to remain in the Valley for various reasons such as close family ties, owning their own homes, or preference for rural life. Some have tried city life and have had bad experiences; others have personal and economical reasons for staying. About half the population is of Spanish descent and close family ties is one of the cultural traits of this group. As an example, old people are taken care of by their children and not placed in nursing homes. In order to move to the city, children would have to take their parents along, but the older people do not want to move.

There are many advantages and disadvantages to living in rural areas. One of the many advantages is that it is a simpler and slower life. People care about other people and know each other's problems. This is not true of city people. Some of the disadvantages are that the luxuries and economical advantages available to city people are not available in the country. Industry, transportation, income, health and housing facilities are among some of the important items that rural areas lack. Social customs in rural areas are quite different than in metropolitan life. Recreation and other social activities are important to rural people. For example, when someone dies or gets married, people do not mind or hesitate to miss work to attend the funeral or the wedding. This is one of the factors that big industry does not understand; their major emphasis is on production regardless of the individual. New industry should look into these factors before locating in a rural area in order to better understand the people and improve their business operations.

Rural areas need industry if they want to improve; not big industry but small industry where 25 to 50 persons can be employed. Industry that does not require many skilled persons but can use unskilled or semi-skilled persons should be encouraged to locate in rural areas. This would help the present labor force and at the same time educate people toward industrial work. In the meantime, schools or training facilities should be made available to train young people in order to attract industry that requires skilled workers. One has to consider that the labor force in such an area is unskilled, has less education and, in a sense, the lowest motivation of any labor group.

People in the rural areas are not lazy as many have labeled them. One must understand their ways and know their reasons for living in a rural area. About 60 percent of the Valley people have lived in the same house for the past 10 years. This is an indication of their stability, or their desire not to move. They are satisfied with what they have. They work full-time in the summer and part-time in the winter. The winters are rough due to a lack of full-time work and severe weather conditions, so they have to apply for Food Stamps which means going to Welfare. We often hear that people would much rather be on Welfare than work, but this is a misunderstanding on the part of the general public. Food Stamps are not given away; they must be purchased. Some employers have seasonal work and they cannot provide full-time employment for their employees. Wages are so low, because employees are considered only laborers; therefore, many have to seek assistance from another source to maintain their households.

About 10 percent of the Valley population is receiving some form of assistance. Most of the recipients are Old Age Pensioners or mothers receiving Aid to Dependent Children. Men on welfare, Head of the Household, are very few, and are usually unable to work due to health problems. It has always been my opinion that if we are to decrease Welfare and at the same time improve the rural areas, we should concentrate on the young people. This will take time and money, but in the long run the country would benefit. I would estimate it could be a period of at least 10 years before results would be evident. The trouble with the federal and state governments is that they want immediate results, and this attitude does not benefit the individual or the country. Things get more confused and the results are nil. We must realize that people over 50 who are unskilled and have less than an eighth grade education will not be easy to change or train. To some degree they may be a waste of time and money, but they should not be denied the opportunity to better themselves.

In conclusion, I would like to recommend that manpower programs be designed specifically for rural areas; they must be different from present day programs which are designed for urban and metropolitan areas. Programs designed for the rural areas should be flexible and with this idea in mind--"a program for the people and not the people for the program." The federal government should be more concerned about *people*, not *numbers*. The government should encourage industry to locate in rural areas by providing incentives such as tax exemptions and assistance in training potential employees. Programs should be designed to help the entire population of the rural area, with the major emphasis on training young people.

RURAL MANPOWER SERVICES IN AN URBAN FRINGE

James J. Hirsch
*North Dakota Employment Security Bureau -
Hillsboro, North Dakota*

It is apparent from the presentations by the two previous speakers that other Employment Service offices are having operation problems very similar to ours in North Dakota.

Our office is a Hitchhike project office. We serve two rural counties in eastern North Dakota which have a combined population of about 13,300. There are 11 communities in the area which range in population from 2,500 for our largest to 1,300 for Hillsboro where our office is located. Two of the communities have a population of 800 and the balance are all under 300 population. Our project area is approximately 1,600 square miles with a population density of 8.5 persons per square mile. The economy in the two-county area is based primarily on agricultural production and on firms that support the farming industry. Manufacturing and processing at present are very limited.

Our office is located about 38 miles from Fargo-Moorhead, a metropolitan center with a population of about 120,000. We are also 37 miles from Grand Forks and East Grand Forks, which have a total population of 45,000. There are interstate highways which connect our area with both these centers.

In January 1971, administration of the two-county area was transferred from the Grand Forks Employment Service office to the Fargo Employment Service office to comply with our governor's regionalization plan for the state. Prior to that time, the area was served on an unscheduled itinerant basis by Rural Manpower representatives from the Grand Forks District Employment Service office. From then until our office opened in September 1971, very limited outreach service was provided to the area.

At the present time, our office provides the same services and administers the same manpower programs as do other District Employment Service offices. Exceptions are the Unemployment Insurance Program and the Work Incentive Program. The Unemployment Insurance Program is administered by the Grand Forks Employment Service office. This has caused us problems in service delivery since claimants from our area must go to the Grand Forks Employment Service office to register and file their Unemployment Insurance claims, and then they must come back to our office and register if they are seeking employment in our local area. This has resulted in some duplication of service and confusion for claimants. The Work Incentive Program is administered by the Fargo Employment Service office. This also creates operational problems. Many of the AFDC recipients who are referred to the program by the county Social Service offices do not have necessary transportation or funds to go to Fargo to take advantage of WIN appraisals, counseling interviews, or testing. Also, most of these WIN applicants would just as soon continue to live and work in their local communities. They do not wish to relocate for either employment or training. We have experienced problems in coordinating services for WIN clients because they are required to work with staff from two different Employment Service offices in reaching and achieving an employability plan.

Our office staff consists of a full-time secretary, an extension manpower agent, and myself as project supervisor. We also contract with the Fargo office for one-tenth of a counseling position and do provide counseling on a one-day-a-month basis. Our office operations are much the same as other District Employment offices.

In addition to our normal operations, we have organized the following special projects:

(1) We have developed an intensive public information program using both the radio and the weekly news column to get information out to area residents and employers about our programs and services.

(2) We have established local advisory boards to get local input and local support for our program.

(3) We have coordinated our placement activities with the 11 high schools and Mayville State College which are located in our area. We go to the schools and make ourselves available to take work applications, provide job market information, and do job referrals.

(4) We have also helped establish and participated in a Human Resources Council, whose membership is composed of all the Social Service agencies which provide service to our area.

Many of these Social Services agencies are located in Fargo or Grand Forks and provide service to the area on an itinerary basis. There seems to be a lot of misunderstanding among residents, school officials, and community groups in the area about the different agencies and what their services and programs are.

(1) One of the objectives of the Resource Council is to develop and present public information programs on the various social services and programs provided to the area.

(2) We are also in the process of developing and publishing a Social Service Directory for use by the schools and different community groups to aid in making proper referrals and using the various agencies' services.

(3) We are also coordinating services for our mutual applicant clients.

Our project area is blessed with a network of very good paved highways and county roads. We do not have any form of public transportation in the two-county area. Individuals without cars must rely on friends or relatives to take them any distance. Many times one of our biggest problems in providing job placement assistance to some of our clients is because they lack transportation to get to and from work, not because there is lack of jobs. Because of our transportation problems we have set up and utilized what we call Volunteer Job Information Centers. We give extensive orientation on the programs and services of our agency to the staff members in these volunteer centers. We provide the Job Information Centers with current daily Job Bank indexes and pamphlets on the various programs and services available through our office. Self-filing applications are also on hand at the Job Information Centers for use by residents in the area who cannot, because of transportation problems, come to our office. When a self-filing application is sent to our office, we register the individual and then do follow-up contact with them in their community or their homes on our next trip to the area. We provide publicity to the local area on services of the Job Information Centers and encourage residents and employers to make use of them. This past summer we used these centers to help promote the hiring of summer youth and, as a Youth Employment Service assisting local youth, find part-time summer and odd job employment.

Our office also works very close by with various community leaders and groups to promote community and economic development toward the goal of improving employment opportunities in the area.

One of the reasons the area was selected as our project site was because of its close proximity to the metropolitan area of Fargo and Moorhead. It was felt the metropolitan area could provide adequate job development and job placement opportunities for local residents whom we could not utilize or place in jobs in the county area. Both our counties have experienced high out-migration rates over the past 10-year period. This was probably due to a lack of job opportunities in our area. Because of this, we felt that much of our placement activity would probably take place in the metropolitan area of Fargo-Moorhead or in Grand Forks-East Grand Forks. Also, because the prime industry of the area is agricultural, we expected that much of our local activity would be centered around placement and recruitment of farm labor.

To date, neither of these assumptions have held true. Fewer than 10 percent of our placements have been in agriculture and less than 2 percent of our placements have been made outside the project area. We have found that most of the applicants who register for work with our office are not interested in either relocating or commuting to the metropolitan areas. Many of them are high school and college students or housewives looking for summer and part-time employment who are not able to commute any great distance. Individuals who are willing to relocate usually lack the necessary training and job skills to qualify for employment in our metropolitan areas.

The situation has thrown the ball back to us. We have had to start working with our local employing community to evaluate employment expansion or job development in the area, and to determine how we can help achieve this expansion. On-the-job training programs have been our biggest assets in helping retrain and upgrade our present labor force to meet the skill requirements of local employers. We have used this program quite extensively to meet the needs of local employers and labor.

Job Bank was implemented statewide in North Dakota about 10 months ago. Since implementation of Job Bank, our job opportunities in the area have adequately met the needs of the local labor supply. However, we do not yet know what role Job Bank will play in helping us provide better exposure to employment opportunities for residents seeking employment or in bringing workers into the area for our local employers.

Our rural office has a distinct advantage over the regional services approach presented by the two gentlemen speaking before me. Many times when service is provided to a several-county area by a regional office, the outreach activity tends to be centered around identifying people in need of employment services or recruiting for various training programs. Because of limited staff and time expended in travel, the outreach activities seem to be better oriented toward moving residents out of rural areas for job placement or training than they are in providing needed public information programs or employer relations programs within these areas. Applicants who are identified as being in need of employment services but who do not wish to relocate for jobs or training are oftentimes carried in regional office files for extensive periods of time with little or no service provided them. Many times the only contact rural employers have with our agency is when the Field Auditor from the Unemployment Insurance Division comes to collect Unemployment Insurance taxes. In rural areas, we are not known as the Employment Service; we are the Unemployment Service.

I believe our office has operated independently of direct influence from the metropolitan area. We do know that people are going to these areas to work, but those who are commuting are apparently finding the jobs there on their own and are not making use of our office. We have found that most residents of the area in need of our service do not wish to relocate. We have also found that there are job opportunities in our rural areas if we get out and hussle and establish a rapport with our rural employers. At the present time, our job opportunities are exceeding our ability to provide labor.

Our rural areas face the same problems as our metropolitan areas. We have transportation problems. We have school dropouts. We have seasonal and underemployment. We lack sufficient job opportunities for our youth and individuals seeking professional, sales or clerical work. The only difference is that our problems are spread over a larger geographical area.

I'd also like to point out that providing manpower services to rural areas can be expensive. But given adequate staff and time to insure that all manpower services and programs are made as accessible to our residents and employers as they are to residents and employers in communities which have District Employment Service offices will show beneficial results. They will pay off in the long run in increased tax revenue and decreased welfare roles.

DISCUSSION OF THE DELIVERY OF MANPOWER SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

Gerald Somers
University of Wisconsin

Since I was able to study a copy of Marvin Konyha's paper prior to the meeting and was unaware of the remarks by the panel of Employment Service personnel until just a few moments ago, my remarks are directed primarily at issues stemming from the Konyha paper. However, they are also applicable to the problems discussed by one or two of the panel members.

Mr. Konyha has provided a useful service in defining the current problems of manpower in rural areas, tracing the historical development of those problems, and stressing the need for the integration of manpower services with other human resource development programs, and, indeed, with the whole range of macro and micro economic policy. Although the stress on linkages between manpower programs and other policies is not new, it deserves constant reiteration. Mr. Konyha has also done well to stress the need for a "systems" or systematic approach to understanding the interrelationship between manpower services and other policies designed to aid rural areas.

Mr. Konyha and others writing in this field appear to underestimate the true dimensions of the obstacles facing those trying to establish an effective package of manpower policies for rural areas. He notes the economic issues arising from the division of labor and other factors of production, and he provides an "economic" methodology by which manpower services may be linked to other economic policies. However, his discussion of the historical development of rural manpower problems, as well as the bitter complaints of the panel of Employment Service personnel, emphasize the *political* rather than the economic obstacles in the way of effective rural manpower policy. Programs for rural areas can become significant only when there is sufficient political recognition of their importance. Representatives in Congress and in administrations at the federal and state levels must change their long-standing historical attitudes toward farm labor and rural employees if progress is to be made in this area.

In the remainder of this disucssion I will attempt to distinguish between the political and the economic obstacles to effective rural manpower policy. The following basic questions will be explored:

(1) Who should be served?

(2) What services should they receive?

(3) How can the services be carried out most effectively?

Who Should Be Served?

Mr. Konyha's history of the political and institutional factors which gave the Rural Manpower Service the image of being pro-employer is crucial to the current issue concerning the appropriate target group for manpower programs in rural areas. There is now some effort to change this historical image, but the public image cannot be changed unless there is a change in the attitudes of those responsible for rural manpower policies. We now know a great deal about the characteristics of the poor in rural areas, and the extent to which their poverty stems from unemployability, lack of skill, discrimination, or other labor market disadvantages. The spending of larger amounts of scarce manpower monies is essentially a political decision, and it will not be accomplished without the appropriate political pressures. Experience to date indicates that the traditional area redevelopment policies and the more recent public service employment programs benefit the more advantaged rather than the disadvantaged in rural areas. Can such programs be reorganized to serve the needs of those who most need help for public programs?

What Services?

Clearly, as Mr. Konyha has noted, the selection of the particular manpower services should be geared to time, place, and the specific needs of target groups. A period of mass unemployment calls for job creation. Structural unemployment in a fully employed economy calls for investments in human capital that will further the occupational and locational mobility of unemployed and underemployed rural workers. Programs to help the unemployed in northern Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin will differ from those in Appalachia, and these will differ in turn from those to help the impoverished blacks of the Mississippi delta.

However, here too, political obstacles stand in the way of selecting the appropriate services. Two doctoral dissertations now nearing completion at the University of Wisconsin point to the success of two programs designed to help the unemployed in rural areas: the public service employment program and relocation subsidies. Even though the public service employment program under the Emergency Employment Act has resulted in substantial benefits for workers in rural areas, according to David Zimmerman, the EEA was not continued and public service employment funds are only grudgingly included in the new manpower revenue sharing legislation. Even though relocation subsidies for unemployed rural workers have resulted in substantial benefits, according to Cilla TenPas, this program has never moved beyond the pilot demonstration stage in the arsenal of federal manpower policies. Ms. TenPas' research indicates that benefits accrued not only to those who moved from northern Michigan but also to the northern Michigan area because many of the relocatees returned to their home area with new skills.

Why have these demonstrably successful programs been treated so niggardly? We must look to politics more than to economics.

How to Accomplish the Services Most Effectively?

The question of the day is not only whether sufficient funds are going to be spent for rural manpower services but whether the decentralization of manpower policy is likely to result in a more effective conduct of rural manpower services. Recent efforts to fund legislation which would further rural manpower programs have not been successful, and there is no reason to believe that such efforts will succeed in the near future in the absence of some radical political change. One of the banes of policies designed to aid rural areas has been the political necessity of spreading limited resources over all such areas in the country. And, yet, as our panel of Employment Service personnel has indicated, there are some areas which are so sparsely settled and with such limited economic potential that there is little possibility of successful manpower services. Can we make the political decision that some areas of the country are not economically viable and that limited resources for manpower services should be utilized on a selective basis? Past experience provides little grounds for optimism. Here, again, a change in political attitudes must precede the most effective utilization of economic resources in the manpower field.

COMMENTS BY VARDEN FULLER ON "MANPOWER SERVICE NEEDS IN RURAL AREAS" BY MARVIN E. KONYHA

Varden Fuller
University of California, Davis

I stand before you in sadness and humiliation. Sadness, because I found nothing to learn from Konyha's paper; humiliation, because my generation seems to have built so poorly. After so many thousands of pages, so many millions of words, and so many greetings of various sorts, we still seem to have no firm foundation for the accumulation of knowledge, the sharpening of perceptions, or the advancement of useful analytical technique. My impression is that we who convene on matters of rural social policy are on a treadmill that we have fashioned out of abstruse models of would-be reality and which we fuel with declamatory or wistful rhetoric. This machine may lack the mechanical beauty of a Rube Goldberg but it is no less inefficient as to output.

My remarks will be caustic. But it is only coincidental that the onset of my own peevish senescence intersects with the present effort of Konyha, for which happenstance I hope he will forgive me. Actually, with the exception of the claims he makes for systems analysis, my attack will be on propositions to which Konyha holds no exclusive title; it will be upon all of us bureaucratic or academic pedants who flutter about waiting our chance to get aboard that treadmill.

Konyha's paper comes in two parts: first, and not clearly relevant to his topic, is a version of how the nation blundered into its present fix in rural human welfare. My guess is that if his version were to be entered in a contest with its numerous predecessors it would not win first prize. The second and larger part of the paper sets forth a view of what *ought* to be done in rural manpower services but offers no empirical evidence that his labeled boxes of fragmented services are *needs that can be met* in any sense of demand and supply. He brings his declamations to the treadmill in a shroud he calls systems analysis. He enters the scene seeming to be interested in research but leaves it as though there were no holes in our knowledge, no divergent views on what to do next, no limits on money, and no lack of capability to render an array of fractionated manpower services. There are a number of propositions that--in our style of doing--seem to call for yet more rhetoric.

First is a common-property bromide to which no one holds exclusive title: "The ultimate objective of this subsector [human resource development] is to provide adequate investment in the community's human resources so that each one may become a successfully and fully employed, well-adjusted, and productive member of the community contributing positively to its overall resource development."

At best, this is low-octane fuel for the treadmill; at worst, it is totalitarian axiom. If this sort of dictum were attempted to be made operational, what sort of bureaucracy and with what criteria would it be decided what magnitude was "adequate investment;" what are the boundaries of "community;" when one is "well-adjusted;" and when the goals of "overall resource development" are being approached? And what instruments of control or persuasion would be employed to make people who might still believe in the constitutional provision of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to conform to this "ultimate objective"? Is this the trumpet of individual self-fulfillment or the wheeze of a politburo?

Fortunately, for the moment at least, these sorts of dicta don't have to be taken seriously. However, innocently they *do*, as under Gresham's Law, pass for the real thing. And therein lies the jeopardy.

The next pair of statements must be pure Konyha--I have never encountered them anywhere else: (a) "This approach [systems] also makes clear that it is not really a question of what manpower services are needed in rural areas;" (b) "The human resource development systems approach clearly identifies the necessary services and permits the public decision-making process to assign responsibilities for service delivery to the appropriate public institution."

Upon reading and rereading these declarations, I became unnerved with the thought that I and a multitude of others of higher station had been unconsciously stumbling over the Holy Grail. For enlightenment (or for consolation) I turned to the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and read its 43-page treatment of SYSTEMS ANALYSIS. Happily, I found it has ancient origins and diverse uses that can be discussed at great length without a single reference to Rand or the Pentagon. Unhappily, my raggedy conclusion is that it has gotten out of the hands of the biologists who knew what they meant by the concept and anyone who wants to use the term can make his own version (or perversion) of it. But I found no claim for it the equal of Konyha's.

One of the *Encyclopedia's* writers, Anatol Rapaport, did speak of the philosopher-sage whose "epistomological creed was most clearly stated by Plato, who believed that all real knowledge comes from within rather than from without, that is, from the contemplation of what *must* be rather than what seems to be." [Vol. 15, [illegible]. 457] However, I judge that most of the users of this elusive and seldom-defined concept are empiricists looking to the without for systematic interrelations rather than pontificates attempting to use it as a lodgement of what they already know. Finding that systems analysis was not all that deterministic was a comfort. As a non-Platonist, I much prefer the shabbiness of pragmatism, empiricism, and semi-anarchical democracy.

Knowing as little as we do now about what rural people want, need, and can use in terms of manpower services, I would consider it a rueful day if ever our authorities got so soft-headed as to authorize and fund anything resembling the Konyha chart.

There are some beliefs embodied in or related to the paraphernalia of this model that have to be challenged, not because they are in this piece but because they are significant open issues.

Is it really true that the components of national manpower policy are agreed-upon and established, and to the extent that the aggregate of them can be referred to as "the traditional conception"? Definitely not. Not even the words have a settled meaning. And anyone having at least a passing awareness of the shifts, shuffles, and travails during the past decade at both legislative and administrative levels would know better. It isn't from propensities to largesse that national authorities are now passing the buck to local governments, via manpower revenue sharing.

And in this connection it needs to be noted that no manpower program has been on the scale of total coverage, such as Social Security. Rather, they have all been tentative, pilotal, experimental, and fractional. Although their administrators were seldom able to keep this fact in mind, no program was intended to be much more than a learning process. The pity is that so little was learned. It is to be lamented that bureaucratic promotion, as does academic, seems to come with showings of innovativeness. And it is further to be lamented that new gimmicks, slogans, and reorganizations seem to have so much more glamour than solid accomplishments in old ways.

As we enter the era (or transient phase--whatever) of revenue sharing, it is to be hoped that manpower philosophers who undertake to advise local government authorities will modestly but constructively try to help them to identify and evaluate their options. It will be a terrible mistake if unsophisticated officials of rural governments are led to believe that they must have all 33 boxes of the Konyha model, plus some others he didn't think of.

The previous remarks cover in part my response to another Konyhanism: There is no need to be concerned about rural manpower needs because they are the same as for all others and all that is required is an equitable distribution of the standard package. This has been the subject of a long-standing Sturt-Fuller debate, but I was never certain from time to time as to which side we each were on. Even though rural and urban residents are not likely to be genetically distinguishable, it would seem that they are afflicted with different circumstances. Some of the circumstantial differences are significant to manpower considerations: mainly, it needs to be recognized that a large proportion of rural residents are the residuals of out-migration. In consequence, they are poorer, older, less well educated, less experienced in occupation, less physically and mentally capable. Some of them live in areas of growth and prosperity where they have a chance of being absorbed, their disabilities notwithstanding; some of them live in distant, depopulating and decadent areas that offer no apparent future. When and if manpower programs get to be directed toward specific deficiencies, maybe the paste-pot of homogeneity can be thrown out. This possibly is the hope of the revenue sharing idea.

There is yet another proposition to which I must pay respects, but again it is not an exclusively owned one. By attempting to distinguish between employment and manpower services, i.e., "the model clearly defines the two services. . .," it seems to me one is attempting to sever the only life-giving interrelationship there is. Let's pick up a little recent history: when notions of extensive manpower services began to proliferate around the Department of Labor in the latter '60s, the high command of the Employment Service decided it must move quickly or be left out. Accordingly, it was discovered that the agency had specialties and capabilities that its personnel had scarcely ever heard of. Labels were changed on charts, desks and doors and many old-timers who thought the name of the game was to generate placement statistics now found that they were counselors, testers, screeners, and whatnot. But when a precipitous decline in placement statistics began to show, the high command realized its vulnerability. Then a reversal of signs commenced and placements were again number one. California took care of its hapless situation in some instances by adding "EMPLOYMENT OFFICE" under its grandiloquent "DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT" signs. This title was transitional to the current one which is "EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT."

Is it not inevitable that the ultimate goal of any manpower service agency, however euphemistic its name, is to help develop a relationship between the person who needs a job and the employer who needs a worker? Isn't experience confirming common sense by saying that a bundle of frills by the name of counseling-screening-testing-leisure time preparation services--and whatever else cannot survive without some evidence that they end in a job? We already know that public employment services can last a long time without these adornments--at whatever level of distinction in public service they may attain.

But I am not actually arguing against auxiliary manpower services, only that they be kept within reasonable bounds and in rational relationships. Perhaps to make my point clear, if not crystal-so, I should try my hand at some more imagery. Models of imagery (some people call them visuals) are popular, even when one can't tell if they serve to communicate or are only self-reassurance to their articulators. In Washington, they are usually drawn in the manner of mobiles, to hang down from on high, which gives them the appearance of legitimacy but exposes them to the vulnerabilities of all sorts of drafts and cross currents. My model will be in the manner of a pyramid, setting firmly on the ground. Its first and largest block will bear an inscription that tries to reflect the foundation purpose of the pyramid--to help people get jobs. In the manner of the Plains folk and their basement houses, this first block might have to suffice for a while. When the means were there and the usefulness becomes evident, other blocks might be added, hopefully in a symmetrical manner.

DISCUSSION OF SESSION II

Joseph Kasper

Well, I would certainly like to extend my appreciation to the panel members, to our two noted commentators, who are interesting and most instructive this morning. Real fine jobs. John, do we have time for questions?

John McCauley

Five minutes.

James Hillberry

Before we get into questions, I would like to throw out, for your consideration, a definition of rural. And this is: those people residing in places of 2,500 persons or less or living on farms and ranches. Now a study we did in Wyoming would reflect that using this definition we would increase services to rural from 11.1 percent of our intake to about 39 percent. We have even gone so far as to define the term farm or ranch which is the census definition of 10 acres or more and sales of $50; or places of less than 10 acres that have sales of agricultural products of $250 the preceding year. I would like to suggest that we arrive at some common ground on what is rural and then identify those services which are actually being provided. Thank you.

Joseph Kasper

I have been involved in this rural definition for too many years and I am not going to debate the point with you publicly, but I would like to do it privately. Any questions, gentlemen and ladies?

Varden Fuller

You know the one thing that I wanted to ask you, Joe, as you started and I forgot to do it. When you were in the Chicago office, the Chicago regional office, what was the maximum number of rural manpower personnel that you had then?

Joseph Kasper

Well, they started with four and finally wound up with just myself. And that situation still exists now. Mr. Dick Mott is the rural manpower man. You could ask that same question of the other regions that are represented here today--Denver, Kansas City, Texas, that's Dallas, one man--that is it. And it is an impossible task for one man.

Varden Fuller

John McCauley, what has been the change in number in the Farm Labor Service as against the number now in the national office?

John McCauley

I would say, Varden, we have roughly about one-third of the staff.

Louis Levine

May I say by the same token that this is deliberate national policy in the Department of Labor, the Manpower Administration, not specifically aimed at agricultural or rural. It is equally true with respect to counseling and employee services; it is equally true with respect to every aspect of Employment Service activity. The program specialist has been deemphasized; there are no program specialists and what has happened with decentralization is a movement of people who are knowledgeable out into regions; regions have expanded from four or five people to several hundred people in manpower, but they don't do manpower program work. They monitor contracts and work on specific minutia, but don't know programs. This is the law.

Joseph Kasper

Well, I could say this, Lou, defending this policy. When I started in the regional office in 1961, the professional staff consisted of exactly 11 people and I don't know what the present ceiling for the Chicago office is but it is probably approaching 300. I would also agree with you that we are basically monitors and watchdogs. We are not program people really, except for a very, very few.

SESSION III

INNOVATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DELIVERY OF MANPOWER SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

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PART A

GENERAL METHODS

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INNOVATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DELIVERY OF MANPOWER SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS: THE JOB BANK EXPERIENCE

Charles K. Fairchild*
E. F. Shelley and Company, Inc. -
New York and Washington, D. C.

> *The Secretary (of Labor) is directed to develop and establish a program for matching the qualifications of unemployed, underemployed, and low-income persons with employer requirements and job opportunities on a National, State, local, or other appropriate basis ....In the development of such a program, the secretary shall make maximum possible use of electronic data processing and telecommunications systems for the storage, retrieval, and communication of job and worker information.*
>
> *Manpower Development and Training Act,*
> *Section 106(b)*

Under the mandate cited above, the United States Employment Service began a program in 1969 to develop and implement a National Computer Job Bank program in a phased progression, leading toward a comprehensive national system for matching workers and jobs. The original goals of this program were to improve manpower services to employers and workers, particularly the disadvantaged; to reduce frictional unemployment; and to achieve more efficient management of Employment Service operations through computerization of the Employment Service.[1] The purpose of this paper is to identify the advantages and limitations of Job Bank in relation to manpower service delivery programs as they operate in rural areas, to describe innovative approaches which have been developed in rural areas, and to indicate some potential future directions for rural banks.

A computerized Job Bank system is essentially a computer-based data processing and communication system which permits and facilitates more efficient utilization of Employment Service resources. The computer produces daily listings of job orders available for referral. Training opportunities and out-of-area jobs may also be included. This information is distributed each morning to each local office to be used in the referral

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**The author is Vice President of E. F. Shelley and Company, Inc., which provides comprehensive systems design services and technical assistance to the U. S. Department of Labor in support of the Job Bank and related programs.*

[1] *Manpower Report of the President*, 1971, pp. 179-180.

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of applicants, in vocational counseling, and in identifying job development needs. In addition, the system produces daily, weekly, and monthly reports to support administrative and management functions.

In the early years, computerized Job Banks were focused on urban areas and urban problems. The first computerized Job Bank was implemented in Baltimore in 1968; eight additional cities started Job Banks in 1969. With the development of a standardized computer system design, the pace of expansion increased during 1970, and during 1971 Job Banks were operating in more than 100 metropolitan areas. Also during 1971, five states began statewide operations in which every Employment Service local office was linked to the Job Bank network.[2] At the present time, only one major metropolitan area and two rural states do not have Job Banks, while 36 states have statewide Job Banks. More than 75 percent of the nation's population lives in areas served by Job Banks, and about 85 percent of employer job orders, referrals, and placements are processed through a Job Bank system.

The rural labor force contains a relatively high percentage of persons who meet the criteria set forth in the legislation--they are unemployed, underemployed, and/or low-income. A key problem of manpower services delivered by the Employment Service in rural areas can be illustrated with a few simple statistics. Less than 30 percent of the nation's population lives in rural areas, which comprise more than 95 percent of the nation's territory. Approximately one-half of the 2,400 Employment Service offices are located outside urban areas, but rural offices typically have small staffs, in many cases consisting of three or fewer persons. These staff resources are quite limited in relation to the geographic areas which must be covered in order to bring effective manpower services to their dispersed population.

It is interesting to note, particularly in the context of this conference, that one of the first operational applications of Job Bank concepts was in a rural area.[3] An important component of the 1967 Ottumwa project was the establishment of a consolidated central file of all job applications and employer job orders. Order-taking, referral, placement, and other manpower service activities among the satellite offices and outstation centers in the 12-county Ottumwa area were coordinated centrally, through extensive use of a leased line telephone system. These approaches, while essentially manual, parallel those currently used in computerized Job Banks.

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[2] *Manpower Report of the President*, 1972, p. 145.

[3] *Breakthrough in Rural Manpower Services: Final Report-Ottumwa, Iowa Experimental and Development Project*, 1969, pp. 39-42.

The primary goal, and accomplishment, of statewide Job Banks has been to permit rural residents to have equal opportunity for access to job information. Prior to implementation of Job Banks, each local office typically had on file only those job orders from local employers. With the Job Bank, rural residents have access not only to other rural jobs but also to urban jobs. A number of states, such as Vermont and Arkansas, publish a single daily listing of all available job orders in the state; others, such as Oklahoma and Michigan, list job orders on a regional basis. In either case, both rural and urban job-seekers have access to all job openings within a reasonable commuting distance.

The daily collection and distribution of this information to rural areas is made possible by innovative approaches to communication. Employer job orders are sent daily to the central data processing location via facsimile transmission, key-to-tape data transmission, messenger service, or a combination. Distribution of Job Bank books is facilitated in most states by preparing the books on microfiche, which can display more than 1,200 job order descriptions on a single 3 by 5 sheet. The "books" can then be distributed by the most effective method to rural offices by the beginning of the next business day. Methods of delivery used include bank messenger, bus, and even the mail.

In an urban area, the logistics problems are essentially solved when the Job Bank book is delivered to a local office. In a rural area, because of population dispersion, a further problem involves reaching potential job-seekers distant from the local office. The traditional Employment Service response to that problem has been the itinerant interviewer or manpower specialist who covers a given territory on a fixed weekly or biweekly schedule. Unfortunately the mobile interviewer has typically been handicapped by his lack of comprehensive job order information, by his limited contact with each community, and by the lack of support resources.

With the advent of Job Bank, a number of states have been better able to apply many of the innovative organizational concepts developed in experimental activities such as the Area Concept Expansion (ACE), Operation Hitchhike, the Comprehensive Model (COMO), Concentrated Services in Training and Education (CSTE), and the Smaller Communities Program, most of which will be discussed at this conference. In most states, the mobile interviewer has a portable microfiche viewer which can be set up in any convenient location. In Arkansas, the Employment Service and the Rural Manpower Service have actively cooperated to establish mobile feeder offices, with a goal of having such an office within 30 miles of any person in the state. Interviewers carry applicants' files with them, and operate from mobile vans and trailers, county agent offices, chambers of commerce, or other available locations.

ACE concepts have been actively used to provide continuing manpower services to areas served by mobile interviewers. For example, while the strict centralized order-taking approach used in most urban areas has not proven desirable in rural areas, many states have a statewide, toll-free telephone system which permits employers to place job orders at any time. In Vermont, mobile interviewers can identify counseling needs, job development, training or other applicant services and receive support from other staff to meet these needs.

An important aspect of improving service to rural areas has been to publicize the availability of services. In most states, the implementation of a statewide Job Bank has been accompanied by a campaign to publicize those services and teach people how to use them. Continuing public information has been provided in a variety of ways, in addition to traditional public service radio spots and newspaper articles. Arkansas interviewers leave folded "tent" cards in restaurants and other public places. Mississippi has a daily morning program on educational television which begins by announcing the number of available jobs and giving a telephone number to call for information. Perhaps the most important public information is that delivered by word of mouth when improvements in service are realized in rural areas.

Most of the techniques used to operate Job Banks in rural areas are similar to those developed in urban areas, with a few exceptions. Central order-taking, used widely in urban areas, is less appropriate in rural areas where local office staff who know local conditions and employers are more effective. Similarly, strict central control of referral activity is less necessary to avoid over-referral of a job order and has been given over to the local office in the rural areas of several states. In the Wisconsin ACE project, and in some other areas, local job orders are distributed the same day as received via facsimile transmission, rather than waiting for their appearance in the Job Bank book the following day.

On the other hand, certain urban approaches to the dissemination of job information have not been widely used in rural areas. In the early phases of Job Bank implementation, states were encouraged to develop cooperative agreements with community agencies in the use of Job Banks. Currently in Washington, D.C., for example, public and vocational schools, colleges, libraries, and other organizations receive a Job Bank book daily. In addition to obtaining information on specific jobs, participating educational institutions use the information for vocational counseling and guidance purposes. One effect is to extend the resources of the Employment Service and to reach groups of potential job-seekers at relatively low cost, who otherwise might not have contact with it. Arkansas mobile interviewers may leave the microfiche and its viewer at a county agent's office for part of a day while visiting elsewhere in the community, but on the whole, this approach to extending resources has had limited use in rural areas, perhaps due to the logistic problems of distribution.

One rural manpower problem which has not generally been addressed through the Job Bank is that of migrant labor. One approach used by Oklahoma was to publish general crop harvest bulletins on a daily basis for each area of the state so that mobile workers already in the state would have accurate and timely information on harvest conditions. Beyond this, however, it seems logical that the information resources and communications techniques used for the other types of jobs could also be applied for seasonal jobs which traditionally use migrant workers.

Substantial analysis of the problem was conducted with the Rural Manpower Service, and a number of approaches were developed. It would be possible, for example, for the employing area to retain information on crew commitments to a particular employer and to use this information as a tickler to verify the commitment prior to the date scheduled for start of work. The order-holding office would contact the crew at a previous place of employment as reflected in its annual worker plan. It would also be possible to list orders in local or statewide Job Bank books at harvest time to attract local and day haul workers to fill open orders. However, resources did not permit modification of technical systems and development of organizational procedures to implement these approaches on a national basis.

In conclusion, we must ask what remains to be done beyond the organizational accomplishments of rural Job Banks described herein.

First, the Job Bank data processing system has underdeveloped potential for generating additional labor market information, for the planning and evaluation of rural manpower service programs, and for assisting in the delivery of rural manpower services.

Second, Job Bank and related innovations have been reported to be effective in improving manpower services to rural applicants and employers. However, little comprehensive data have been compiled on the effectiveness of Job Bank and related innovations in increasing placement and improving other manpower services, either total or per unit of applied resources. Although individual states and the projects under programs such as ACE, Hitchhike, CSTE, etc., have prepared certain types of information, it would be desirable to compile and analyze more comprehensive information on the Job Bank experience as it facilitates application of the basic concepts of these programs, on the outcomes of new approaches, and on unresolved problems. With the results of a study of this type, planners would be better able to use Job Bank in the design of more effective rural manpower service delivery systems.

Finally, we must remember that Job Bank is an extant resource and tool to assist in or facilitate the implementation of approaches designed to address rural manpower service delivery problems; but is not a solution to such problems in its own right.

POTENTIAL USE OF VOLUNTEERS AND PROGRAM AIDES IN RURAL MANPOWER PROGRAMS

David C. Ruesink
Texas A & M University

Introduction

Volunteers can be a significant resource for supplementing manpower programs in rural areas. The operational definition for "volunteer" is anyone who works freely and consciously without any substantial pay, compulsion, or coercion being applied.

Voluntary action dates back to the beginning of our nation. Early examples include the "barn raisings," "house warmings," construction of schools, roads, churches, and many other efforts where all the neighbors turned out to lend a hand for worthy causes. As time passed on, many of these activities subsided in favor of governmental or professional assistance. Even so, voluntary efforts have not ceased. Naylor[1] points out that new areas of volunteer service are opening and there seem to be more people willing to volunteer time and effort on behalf of their communities than ever before.

This was anticipated by Stenzel and Feeney[2] when they observed that many individuals and groups can assist in community action to insure genuine involvement and participation. They state:

> No longer can the objective of a social service be on "working for," rather than "working with." Too long have low accountability and lack of real involvement alienated the poor and created pockets of apathy and neglect in our society.

We were reminded by President Nixon in his 1969 inaugural speech that "we are approaching the limits of what government can do alone. Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed." We have seen many examples where government programs were designed to solve social problems but were curtailed before their full impact was felt. This is especially noticeable in the "war on poverty." Occasionally, voluntary organizations have moved in to fill part of this void. For example, churches or community chest funds now pay for day-care centers that the Office of Economic Opportunity started and then discontinued. In the foreword of "The Guide to Volunteer Services," by Anne David,[3] Arch McKinlay suggests that the "in" thing for the 70s will be personal involvement in making an imperfect society work better.

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[1] Harriet H. Naylor, Volunteers Today, Finding-Training and Working With Them (New York: Dryden Associates, 1973).

[2] Anne K. Stenzel, and Helen H. Feeney, Volunteer Training and Development: A Manual for Community Groups (New York: The Seabury Press, 1968) p. 207.

It is with this background that the use of volunteers will be examined as a way to supplement manpower efforts already underway. Two specific situations will be described where volunteers can be utilized effectively in rural manpower programs:

(1) where information about a labor market is inadequate for analysis and planning, and

(2) where an area is experiercing economic expansion and creating jobs in excess of the area work force.

These will be approached by using specific examples of what Cooperative Extension could do within its program framework although it certainly may not be the only agency that could consider such action.

Inadequate Labor Information

In order to plan for industrial expansion or economic development, adequate manpower data are needed. Again, two special categories of problems may be addressed:

(1) labor surplus areas where there are more people than jobs, and

(2) labor deficit areas where there are more jobs than people.

Each of these requires additional information from the local area before many steps can be taken to alleviate problems. In either case, a complete inventory of both the potential employability of local residents and employment needs of existing employers is a starting point. Usually, worker inventories would consist of such characteristics as age, sex, skills, educational level, present employment and income, occupational aspiration, distance willing to commute, and any other desired information. Employer inventories would need such basic data as present openings, skill level needed, pay scale, and plans for future needs with an indication of skills needed and probable pay scale.

After these data are obtained, they could be used by local industrial teams when prospecting for potential industries, chambers of commerce when new businesses are being attracted, or many community organizations contemplating changes in their procedures or objectives for serving the local area. State or federal agencies planning for human resource development could use such data.

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[3] *Anne David, A Guide to Volunteer Services (New York: Cornerstone, 1970).*

A need for this information is usually felt by a number of individuals in each community. How to obtain it is often their first question. Frequently, most rural areas are able to call upon some agency such as the Employment Security Commission's "smaller communities teams" for assistance. The amount of staffing determines how many communities could be served. In many states there is more demand than staff which means communities either go without an inventory or wait a long time for it to be conducted.

The first point is that volunteers could be used to conduct manpower surveys. There are many ways for their involvement.

Volunteers may provide key contacts for gaining support of individuals within organized groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, advisory committees of the rural development agencies (Extension Service, Farmers Home Administration, Soil Conservation Service, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, and Forestry Service), industrial foundations, city councils, and county supervisors. Occasionally, organizations such as ministerial alliances, school systems, women's professional organizations, civic organizations, agricultural organizations, organized labor, and action agencies may have a very vital stake in this type of survey.

Volunteers can assist in actual data collection by manning labor stations, making appeals for cooperation through mass media channels or even knocking on doors to help individuals complete the surveys. Tabulation of results and interpretation could also be part of their contribution.

Such a procedure was used by the Concerted Services Training and Education (CSTE) Program in Red River County, Texas two years ago. A similar experience in the Minnesota (CSTE) Program was used as their example. It took several weeks for the local citizens to decide to conduct the survey, then several more weeks to organize before starting. In this particular case, the Texas Employment Commission's (TEC) smaller communities team had conducted a labor survey about two years prior and didn't feel another survey was justified.[4] However, due to employment changes during this two-year period, the local industrial team was not comfortable with existing labor data when prospective industries made inquiries. After enough citizens made a commitment to help, the TEC assisted with questionnaire design, training volunteers to use questionnaires, and tabulating data after they were gathered.[5]

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[4] *This decision was made on the basis of available manpower and the demand for their services.*

In the Red River County example, the CSTE coordinator was the organizer. Volunteers worked in stations set up in central locations where residents could stop in and fill out a form. Some forms were filled out in group settings, and selective "door knocking" occurred. Little interviewer bias was introduced because only standard inventory questions were asked. Local merchants contributed merchandise as prizes for drawings held periodically from names of those who registered for the inventory. Reminders were included in grocery sack stuffers, utility bill envelopes, news media, and bulletin board posters.

To conduct an inventory such as this requires a great deal of coordination and cooperation. A large number of volunteers will be needed when the survey is undertaken. One of the keys to using volunteers for this type of activity is to have someone who can organize from 50 to several hundred volunteers. The more volunteers the better, because a large number fosters a greater sense of participation and does not become a "burden" on any single individual. It allows the task to be completed in a few days. Having them involved, however, has implications beyond simple data collection. Through their participation, they are much more likely to be interested in the results. They may help find new ways to promote the area for economic growth whenever they have an opportunity. They may discover new ways to make the local community a better place to live.

Economic Expansion Causing Labor Deficit

The plan described so far would apply to both labor surplus or labor deficit areas. There is an additional ingredient that could be added for the labor deficit inventory.

Management specialists teach that one of the best sources for recruiting manpower when openings exist is to ask present employees for suggestions. This same principle could be applied to a wider area. When there is a need for more workers due to new employment opportunities, one approach could be to ask local residents to furnish names of persons currently living elsewhere but who may be potential prospects. A survey question could ask about person who formerly lived in the area but who might be interested in returning; or, are there friends or relatives who live elsewhere who might be interested in coming to this area. Specific names and addresses could be obtained for follow-up.

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[5] David C. Ruesink, and Mac Varley, *Manpower Inventories: Using Volunteers*, Fact Sheet L-1095 (College Station, Texas: Texas Agricultural Extension Service, Texas A & M University, 1973).

Studies show that migration patterns are concentrated from one specific area to another, largely due to kinship and friendship ties. In a relocation study of residents from South Texas to Dallas, Ruesink and Kleibrink[6] found that those who stayed at least two years were more likely to have learned about the program from friends or relatives, whereas returnees were more likely to have learned about the program from rumors, news media, or the TEC counselor. This suggests that social support for stayers was considerably higher than for returnees.

There is a definite need for establishing a sense of "belonging" when families are uprooted from area A and moved to area B. In area A, they have mastered the "problems of life" connected with making a living, providing medical services, buying goods, and establishing friendships. When they move to area B, these relationships must be reestablished. Volunteers recruited on the basis of their ability to relate to the cultures and problems of relocated workers and their families can materially accelerate the rate of adjustment to a new community. When newcomers are attracted to an area as a result of recommendations from a friend or relative, several adjustment problems are overcome. They immediately have someone with whom they can relate and who will have a personal interest in them.

The assumption is made that when there is a labor deficit, there will be a number of "newcomers" either as a result of natural migration to the area where job opportunities exist or through planned labor mobility programs. In either case, the volunteers could assist with "welcome wagon" type hospitality by providing information and services relative to the local area. This type of approach is certainly not new nor unique. Many such organizations have been set up in college communities to help international families when they first arrive in the United States. There are newcomer organizations all over the country that try to assist with this type of adjustment. To the best of my knowledge, however, newcomer groups are made up of the professional or highly skilled individuals and by and large are less likely to reach the unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

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[6] David C. Ruesink and Michael C. Kleibrink, *Occupational and Personal Adjustments of Retrained, Relocated Workers and Their Families: A Longitudinal Study*, Department Technical Report Number 72-2 (College Station, Texas: Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Texas A & M University, 1972).

A concerted effort could be made to integrate newcomers, especially those in the lower skill level, into the community. The major goal is to hasten the time when newcomers feel part "of" rather than simply living "in" the receiving community. By doing this the following objectives could be accomplished: (1) increase worker and family satisfaction so there would be greater numbers staying in the area; (2) reduce the worker turnover on the job as a result of greater satisfaction with the area; and (3) more completely develop each individual's fullest potential.

There are existing groups within each community that could assist with this. In Texas, for example, each county has a County Program Building Committee which is made up of a broadly representative group of individuals from all walks of life. The Committee assists local agencies with the development of programs most needed in that county. This is organized through subcommittees, one of which is the Family Living Subcommittee. This Family Living Subcommittee could have as one of its responsibilities the integration of newcomers and could then bring together all the resources necessary within that community.

Some of the kinds of activities the Family Living Subcommittee could assist with might include: (1) housing - information about the availability of existing housing, how to obtain assistance for purchasing or building new homes, or how to remodel and maintain an existing home; and (2) the kind of services available. This would include formal services such as schools, medical and legal services, shopping facilities for all types of needs, activity centers, recreational facilities, local service organizations, types of business services such as credit or insurance, or personal needs such as dry cleaning, hair dressers, barbers, etc. These volunteers could provide linkage for existing activities such as the Extension Club meeting, 4-H Club activities, and other organizations such as churches, lodges, and similar activities that might have some appeal for new residents.

The essence of this volunteer group would be to have an individual to whom the newcomer could relate whenever he or she had encountered a problem. When newcomers arrive who do not have kin or friends in the community, there could be a number of volunteers available for one-to-one relationships on the basis of some mutual frame of reference such as children's interests, wive's interests, religious affiliation, etc.

The scope and magnitude in terms of number of newcomers to an area would determine, to some extent, the amount of activity necessary to coordinate the program. The more newcomers, the greater the problem of keeping everything running smoothly. Ruesink and Kleibrink[7] found that one of the reasons contributing to the fact that 55 percent of the relocatees from South Texas to Dallas were still employed by their original employers was the attention they received when they first arrived in Dallas. The TEC had received information ahead of time concerning the type of housing desired. When the family arrived, a TEC counselor had two or three places lined up to show them. They were then accompanied to a bank to cash relocation checks. After they reported to work, a counselor from the employing firm was assigned to them for personal assistance at any time they needed it. Sometimes these counselors provided rides for children who got sick at school or wives needing special services such as finding a doctor. They were frequently asked about credit use, recreational activities, continuing education programs, insurance, or how to change some unpleasant working condition.

One pattern that showed up rather clearly was that the counselors were in greater demand at the beginning of the program than toward the end. When the first relocatees arrived, they had few if any contacts in the receiving area. After 15 new families had arrived each week for about six months, there were more counseling tasks being performed by the South Texans who had been in the area for a while and less need for the paid counselor staff.

Program Aides

This experience could be translated into the volunteer concept by utilizing a program aide to coordinate the volunteer's activities. This aide could provide linkage between volunteers and newcomers. One direct linkage would be provided if the aide were a spouse of a newcomer. This kind of person would need help from local professionals and organizations to be knowledgeable of the availability of goods and services in the area. The big advantage would be the ability to identify quickly actual needs and feelings of newcomers.

Program procedures for setting up a means to bring volunteers and newcomers together and follow-up needed would be part of the aides assignment. Aides could also set up group meetings designed to assist families with regular Cooperative Extension programming (or any other educational activities). Often the aides or volunteers could help with class teaching. Aides could also assist with research by legitimizing the research to newcomers or at times assisting with questionnaire administration.

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[7] *Ibid.*

Aides have been used effectively in several Cooperative Extension programs. One of the most effective has been the Expanded Food and Nutrition Program (EFNP) or in some places it is called the Expanded Nutrition Program (ENP). Federal legislation for the ENP specifies that their activities must be limited to programs on food and nutrition. Even though these aides cannot do manpower programming, they can make referrals to others who could be attached to agencies in a position to offer assistance.

ENP aides may be able to identify families who are potential relocatees. When families move to areas where other ENP units are located, aides at the receiving area could be alerted that the family was coming and training records from the sending unit could be transferred, thus providing another contact point for the newcomer.

In fact, the idea of a "farewell wagon" for people leaving an area may be worthy of consideration. A voluntary organization could provide a checklist of all tasks to be completed before moving, make initial contacts with key people or organizations for supportive services in the receiving community, and be a point of contact after departure for further assistance.

One direct application for planned mobility projects would be the possibility that manpower program aides and volunteers from receiving communities could travel to sending areas while recruiting is underway. These individuals could help prepare newcomers by providing information about the kinds of weather, stores or services to expect, what kinds of papers such as birth certificates, medical records, forwarding address, credit references, etc., that may be helpful. They could also find out about the kind of housing desired and explain the kind that is available. If any other special considerations are needed, these could be discovered so that when the newcomer arrives in the receiving area, an initial linkage is already established.

Conclusion

The entire emphasis of this paper has been on ways volunteers and program aides could assist with rural manpower programs. Most rural areas face the problem of too many people and too few jobs, but there are occasional growth centers where there are more jobs than people. In either case, when local citizens are motivated to do something to improve the quality of their community, there is an opportunity to serve through manpower programs. These volunteers would be used to assist local residents or newcomers to reach their fullest potential during the shortest period of time.

What has been proposed could be carried out very easily through the Cooperative Extension Service framework. Volunteers could be coordinated by Extension committees and program aides could be attached to the Extension office. In fact, these manpower program activities could be "door-openers" for further development of Extension programming to reach the "unreached." Even though the perspective has been on Extension possibilities, there are other agencies in rural areas that could do this and many that would need to be involved because of their special expertise and resources. My reason for focusing on Extension has been that it is what I know best and the potential for widespread citizen involvement is already there. We in Texas are examining these possibilities and are prepared to try some of them out in at least one labor deficit area of the state. We think it will add strength to the total manpower programming.

DISCUSSION OF SESSION III - PART A

Leonard Sytsma

One comment on job matching. The thing that we're involved in right now in Oregon is experimenting with the ability to search the order file, if you will, of an applicant in order to make job matching a reality and really functional. You've got to have the other end of that thing which is the ability to search the applicant file and match it with the employer's orders.

Charles Fairchild

It is necessary, and it is missing. It awaits development and implementation of what is commonly known as a real-time on line interactive network based around an effective descriptor system. There is still work going on in those areas.

Gerald Somers

Chuck, you said a little bit about evaluation. I wonder if you can tell us more. About the only evaluation that I have looked at, and I am sure there must be others, is one by my colleague in Wisconsin, George Huber. As I recall, that was quite critical. I don't know how many rural Job Banks were included, but he actually found that the placement rate was lower under the Job Bank in some cases. This was because, with the substitution of the somewhat mechanical listing of job openings for counseling, the human being was pushed out of the picture. I think this was one of his findings as I recall. I have often wanted to get your views on this; maybe this is the time to get it.

Charles Fairchild

Well, I can comment directly on the work that George Huber and Joe Alman did, which is the evaluation you are referring to. It was critical in many respects and it was also undertaken under very difficult circumstances. My own personal feeling on this is that one problem they have is a methodological problem. At that time we were all pretty naive and we thought you would turn a Job Bank on and throw a switch and everything would be happy. I think we learned, and the state people here can confirm this, that it takes anywhere from six months or more for a state organization to absorb and learn to utilize this tool. I am not sure of this, Jerry, but I think perhaps the data on that evaluation were affected by transitional problems. There has been nothing similar attempted since then and I feel it is time to do further evaluations to really get a handle on some of the unanswered questions that George and Joe have and to revalidate some of their findings.

Kal Makela

I am Kal Makela from the Kansas City regional office and I have both Rural Manpower Service and Job Bank responsibilities program-wise. I wanted to add, in reference to this information going out to the public, that Kansas, for example, has taken this information out to the libraries so that people can come in and the librarian can call. A placement is still being conducted through the state Employment Service. One of the basic things, of course, in reference to any of this is money. Until the national office or the Congress sees fit to provide the kind of funding that is necessary to get the kind of sophisticated equipment that will make it possible to put this on real time and so forth so that it will become effective, we are not going to have effective job matching. On an experimental basis in Missouri, for example, we started and then the monies got pulled back and consequently so did the real equipment get pulled back. The state couldn't afford to maintain it out of their grant money so that they had to pull it back. It is going to require the instruction to Congress that if you really want a national type of Job Bank system that is statewide in all states, it is going to require money and particularly as we move into rural areas. Iowa, for example, had to quit bankers' dispatch and go to a mail arrangement because of money. For all of these things, many of these things, it is not a lack of know-how; it is not a lack of that green stuff that Congress puts into the system. I might also add that I am not too concerned in reference to having Job Bank information on the same day to every single local office in that state. The important thing is that most employers are looking first of all for local applicants to fill that local job. And when that job information comes into their local office, they can act on it and they do and they should. But it should be into the system the next morning. That's what I am trying to say, even though the job may be filled, at least it becomes important knowledge statistically. The data can then be used by economists and social workers, psychologists and everybody else. It can be pulled out of the system eventually and we'll find out about the range of jobs in this particular area, or what are the general prevailing wages because, of course, the good jobs with the good dollar rates are going to be filled before anybody else outside the area gets access to it. But at least the information will be available.

Myrtle Reul

We will let Lou's question be the last one and then we will move to the other paper and then come back later.

Louis Levine

I listened to Dr. Fairchild open by saying he was going to talk about some of the accomplishments and potentials of Job Bank and then some of its limitations. I listened almost in vain to the limitations of the two sentences at the very close. I want to start off with some issues that Jerry Somers raised. It is not just what Huber and Alman said. What did Ultra System say? What did Abt Associates say? I have read every single one of these evaluations on Job Bank. I have no doubt about it that it has been a boon for computer specialists. On that one I have no doubts. But from there on I have some questions. It is not the fault of the computer specialists, but the fault of the Manpower Administration and those who were in power at the time that they sold Job Bank for what it couldn't perform--publicity and gimmickry that was out of this world. Not that Shelley stood back and said don't do it, you see. Get 60 stations, get 100 cities, it is just that much more business for the computer specialists. Whether they were performing was another story. Problem number two: preoccupation with procedures, with the machinery of the thing, not the substance of the thing. And that goes on to the present day. Number three: getting wedded and locked into a system that doesn't allow you flexibility very often or flexibility at high cost; when you are sucked in, you can't get out of it. That is part of the deal. Now let us look at who is to benefit from this. The two major ones to benefit should be the employer client and the job seeker client.

The employers have many misgivings about Job Banks. Many of them are refusing to do business with the employment office because of Job Banks. Now that is hard to believe. And why? One, because they like that primitive, unscientific, personal touch of someone who comes out and knows the plant, who knows that dirt and noise in that back room, who knows that the specification that comes over the telephone doesn't tell the whole story. And selection and referral of the worker out there can't come on just what comes in over the telephone, particularly when the specification from the employer comes to a job order taker who is highly specialized in filling out that form. If they deviated from that form, he'd be lost, because he knows nothing about the specifications, the job, the going wage rate, the kinds of conditions that are involved that the employer might ask him.

The thing you ought to expand is the Job Bank viewers and cooperation with more agencies. The purpose of Job Bank finally is to have major exposure, but careful selection in referral in accordance with requirements and specifications to perform the job adequately. Where are the qualifications of the referrals of all these social do-good agencies who want to rush their man out, and do? Drunk, bent over, and they say the Employment Service office sent them. That is what we are going to get from every agency in town.

Now let's go to the worker's side. Job Bank has distinct limitations. It has all of the stupidity of the human being that created it and that punches it. It puts out errors faultlessly; repeats them faultlessly, you see. When the job seeker comes in there, he sees a job. But if the man on the street understands the computer lingo, he says that is the job for me. Eighty bucks or one hundred and eighty bucks a week. He says that sounds good, hours perfect, I want that job. How does he get out? He has to get past a referral clerk, the central referral. The first thing you know, the fellow is saying that local office stands in my way. There has been no direction. There has been self-selection. I select myself and say I love that job. Now why do you deny telling me who the employer is and where he is located? Let me go out. And the truth of the matter is I have seen many a local office that refused to send a man out on a job, who went out on his own and got the job there, because the employer's hiring specifications may have no semblance of reality when the employer is faced with the man who wants the job. Very often he likes the square of the shoulders, you don't put that over on a telephone when you put in a hiring specification. The man is in the local office file; the interviewer wouldn't screen the selectee because he lacked the qualification. The man stupidly found out about the job, went over there and got it because the employer liked the cut of his jib.

What I am saying is that the human touch in here has to be expanded. What is happening to the Job Bank is that it is cutting back on ingenuity and innovation and imagination and the just getting out and pounding the placement work that has to be done before they can have acceptance and support. Now if I talked about job development, labor market information, and all of the other stuff, I would be here for three hours. I've spoken just on the job order filling process.

James Hillberry

From a local stand of view, I agree with Mr. Levine. If we don't get back to the humanistic standpoint in some of our services, we are out of business.

Charles Fairchild

I hardly know where to start in replying. I don't think that an adequate reply can be made on all of his facts. I certainly wouldn't question Mr. Levine's experience and knowledge of the Employment Service's operation, at all levels, from top to bottom. He is such a ringing indictment of the past four years in the total Employment Service effort that I don't really think I can begin to respond to it. As far as your references to self-serving computer contractors, I plead guilty. And I could give you a rather long dissertation on the frustrations that we have experienced in trying to rectify problems that we saw emerging out of this. I think that overall there is a lot of work yet to be done. One would hope that manpower, not contract manpower but Employment Service manpower, could be found and applied to identifying and specifying operational terms of each of these problem areas so that an adequate response could be developed. That would take a lot of time and effort.

Louis Levine

Now I just have one word. Having said everything that I said, Job Bank has the greatest potential for rural areas of anything that has come down the pike because the poor rural local office staff member has been an isolated person, and this does at least begin to pipe something into the local office, if he knew how to use it. And knowing how to use it involves more than the order specifications. For instance, counselors ought to be coming out of the city into the rural area alongside that Job Bank listing.

Myrtle Reul

I think the last few minutes have pointed out not only some of the kinds of questions that we must begin to face frankly and honestly, but also that we ourselves will need to be on the receiving end of many kinds of questions that are directed to us in different ways. The effect of affirmative action, for example, the recognition of many new things in the employment field. Where does the Job Bank fit in? Where do other kinds of innovative programs fit in? Can we ask the questions; can we also cite, as you've done very nicely, that we just don't have the answer?

Myrtle Reul

Use of volunteers is certainly not new. It is something that can be traced back almost as long as humanity has been on earth, but it has long been a recognized fact that we don't know how to make adequate use of volunteers. We either tend to overuse them or underuse them.

Varden Fuller

You had some good, broad, general sociological generalizations on a very significant subject. The only thing I would fault you on was your running a little short of specific examples. We need to know something about what people have learned by trying to do it. Who took the initiative? Who got involved and how did you get involved? You said very little about the ordinary ongoing job placement part which I want to dwell on just a minute. The other thing I thought about is running this through the Agricultural Extension Service. The Manpower Service may have a couple of enemies. One of them is the Employment Service and the other is the Extension Service. There is plenty of possibility between these two outreach organizations. I really want to emphasize that this is a mighty important kind of thing if we're going to accomplish something in this area. When we were working on the task force report preceding the establishment of the Rural Manpower Service, one of the things that we recognized was that even under the most optimistic circumstances there probably would never be enough money and enough personnel to do the whole job. You would need to use all the kinds of resources that you could call upon in order to really make any increments of accomplishment. And one of the euphemisms that we invented there, that I now regret considerably, was to call these people Rural Manpower statesmen. We were talking about the people in the Farm Labor Service who would presumably be reorganizing for general rural manpower people. And what we had in mind, although we didn't spell it out in great specifics, would be that rather than try to take over and run the whole operation themselves, they would try to enlist help in the community wherever they would get it. And through the testimony of the three men on the panel this morning, and the gentleman from Oregon, it sounds to me like they are doing some of this manpower statesman kind of thing. I'm afraid that the general picture over the United States is all too like it is in California where you can't discover any effort at all by the Employment Service people to proliferate and generalize their efforts by calling on voluntary people or persons or organizations. As a matter of fact, the picture that I and my students get in California is one of continuing hostility generated primarily by the people in the Employment Service who think that they are the ones who have the total all encompassing jurisdiction. And they resent everybody else. You can't find much evidence that they know much about any other programs. For example, one time we were asking about what one of the local offices was doing with respect to NYC. He said, we have nothing to do with those guys.

You're talking about the more broad things. But take it right down to the question of job hunting, job finding, and placement. There is a considerable kind of sub-terranian literature that tells you that the local bartender and the barber or somebody who is the treasurer or accountant who keeps the accounts knows the general story: but there are towns and places where any one of these makes more placements than the Employment Service does. And why is it? Is there any hope? This is the kind of question I want to come to. Is it rules and regulations, or just plain stubbornness or bureaucracy and everything else? Is there any way this can become an effective kind of an accelerator rather than a kind of a selfish little bunch who claim that if they don't do it, it isn't done, that it's their jurisdiction and everybody else should keep out? If we could hope that with the limited resources available, I think there is a great deal more that could be accomplished. What are the prospects?

J. D. Shoemake

I would like to answer a little bit of this question. I'm with the Employment Service, with the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission. Not all the Employment Services work like they evidently do in California. I have been local office manager and I have seen the volunteers do a real good job in communities. One of the things that I think was left out in the presentation was the role of volunteers in communities where you don't have enough jobs for the number of people. If you get several industries in right at the present time, you can get volunteers to go out and survey the industry you have and figure out ways of improving this and adding jobs.

David Ruesink

And this has been very effective.

J. D. Shoemake

This has been done and it was done; it has been done in Oklahoma a lot of times. Another thing that volunteers do; I just moved from Orton, Oklahoma and we have an industry there that has 1,600 people now hired over a three-year period of time. The latest statistics on this show that 12 percent to 15 percent of these people came back to Orton from other areas.

And the way this was done was by publicity that was put in the paper at home; people cut it out and sent it to California, or wherever, and we would get letters from these people wanting to know about the jobs. But volunteers are used extensively in Oklahoma on rural manpower services especially. So I don't believe we all operate like California does evidently.

Sherman Mandt

I was listening to Professor Fuller and I'm completely confused because I really don't know what he is objecting to. Were you objecting to the use of paraprofessionals, to the Extension Service, or what was the objection? Frankly, in Minnesota we were damn glad to get professionals or whomever. The Extension Service has the means to provide and boy, we're thankful they're there.

Varden Fuller

I would like to say two things. One that I didn't think that paraprofessionals or volunteers were being used to the extent that they could and that I have my doubts about agricultural extension as an instrumentality to do this.

Sherman Mandt

Well, would you elaborate on this? Let's ask these people. You know you just can't come up with a statement without qualifying it.

Bob Hunter

I would like to elaborate on it for you, Varden.

Varden Fuller

I thought it was pretty self-evident.

Bob Hunter

This isn't, I say this at every meeting we have, but there are new people here so I've got to say it again. There is a saying that comes from one of the islands off the South Carolina coast, "it ain't what you don't know that hurts you, it's what you know that ain't so." One of the problems that you find about the Employment Service in the rural area or the extension agent in a rural area is that he is very much a part of the social network of a community which gives him a great deal of power, and a great deal of influence in both the formal and informal systems. It is also true that he is caught up in the same knowledge about what is and is not true about the community. Now the thing that was said this morning that is exciting and the thing that has just been said about Oklahoma is that when you go out and look in that rural area inevitably you find jobs that pay a decent wage that no one believes is there. The Extension agent doesn't believe they're there, nor does the Employment Service believe they're there. And since they don't believe they are there, they don't go out and look for them, because it would be pretty stupid to go out and look for something that is not there. But when Oklahoma went out and looked, and volunteers did it, they found the jobs. When the Office of Economic Opportunity Community Action Program, an outreach program, went out and looked, they happened to find jobs. And they help place people in jobs because the amount of knowledge is not very great to the very unemployed person. I think what Varden is getting at is that part of the problem we have is one of communicating to those who have been in the community with a downward spiralling economy with a great deal of pessimism about the worth of going out and expending the energy. The people that described their programs this morning were describing to some extent their energy; although I will say to Rudy if people get out around Montavista and Alamosa they will find 200 jobs that pay $2.80 an hour that are vacant right now and it will be easy to find 350 people with 6 weeks or less of training that could take those jobs. That is what I think Varden is talking about, at least in main part.

Varden Fuller

I think so too.

John McCauley

On an ad hoc basis how do you try to deliberately plan in your plan of service to make use of volunteers? Now I understand that the plan of service in Minnesota provides a specific sum of money for the expenses involved in producing volunteers and defraying some of their out-of-pocket expenses. You probably heard about the experimental program in Eastern Nebraska in cooperation with the Farmers Union where they are experimenting in paying a modest sum of money. I think it is $50 a month to cover some of the out-of-pocket expense of the volunteers and I agree that we not only have to take full advantage of these opportunities but we have to somehow be able to do it on a systematic basis.

Varden Fuller

Well, would you say that the use of volunteers is widespread?

John McCauley

No, oh no. We have only scratched the surface here, but I think there is an increased willingness to move in this direction and I think we should.

Mrytle Reul

We are being faced with a dilemma. We are way over our time and we have two more hands that are up. Shall we continue on? O.K.

Martin Kenny

A couple of things I want to say. One of the things that Dr. John McCauley aluded to was the volunteer arrangement in Nebraska, which is actually primarily Chamber of Commerce offices. And the point I want to make in that reference is what we get is a continuity of presence as opposed to an itinerant system. In that Chamber of Commerce office, on a volunteer basis, we have 40 hours a week as opposed to an itinerant service which can be provided half a day in the community. So you have got to have this kind of volunteer arrangement since we are not adequately funded to provide all services to all people at all places. So I certainly am holding support of the volunteer kind of arrangements and I think the 50 bucks that we actually use to do this provides us with some kind of access to information which we might not be able legitimately to ask from them if they appeared as volunteers.

The other point I want to make is in reference to the Employment Service itself, is our measurement system of Employment Service operation is national, by the national structure. As we move into these areas, it needs to be different than it is presently in the way of counting whether or not an office is performing an effective service. I think all of the state people will certainly bear me out on that. The name of the game right now is placements, unit cost per placement; and when you tie this into rural areas you are in real trouble.

Louis Levine

For a number of years I tried to push the Employment Service into volunteers and never had enough resources to do the job. The same problem, I guess, would be true of the Extension Service, certainly true of the social workers. If it is going to bother the prestige or the turf of the professional, no volunteer should be allowed, says the professional. So a counselor doesn't want a volunteer counselor in an employment office. That is number one. But let's not kid ourselves about volunteers. You have got to be cautious when you use them. If you're bringing in volunteers who are being used to bring in friends and relatives of the dear white people who are already on the work force so that blacks, or chicanos or someone else won't get a job, that is misuse.

David Ruesink

Yes, indeed.

Louis Levine

But it goes on. If volunteers are being brought in to undercut wage standards, as they sometimes do, don't get caught in that jam. Volunteers are to be watched very carefully. If you think you are going to buck the unions, if you have naive notions that you are going to overcome a labor deficit with some people you are going to bring in, you have another guess coming. So you have got to know your business of volunteers. It isn't just a nice social ideal. There is a hard reality. There are rice bowls involved. And the sooner we learn that, the better off we will be.

Myrtle Reul

As some of you know, I am 96.44 percent migrant and at least 2 percent gypsy, and the rest we won't talk about. And I have often wondered why there couldn't be a welcome wagon that came to the migrant camps and we definitely need a farewell wagon to come to the trailer camp because often you pull out of camp without anyone to say good bye. And as people concerned with labor perhaps the terminal interview as to why the individual left the job is by far more important than even the initial interview. So I think if we did nothing more this afternoon than to say there are all kinds of possibilities in the future; the use of volunteers, the use of employment banks and Job Banks is something that is very real and we haven't promised to answer the questions but at least we hope we helped to raise them. And thank you both very much for your help this afternoon on this.

PART B

RURAL MANPOWER SERVICE
PILOT PROJECTS

AREA CONCEPT EXPANSION, A CONCEPT WHOSE USE SHOULD BE EXPANDED, AND ITS APPLICATION IN OREGON

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*Oregon Department of Human Resources -
Salem, Oregon*

The rural economy has been changing for many years, which has caused problems for both rural employers and workers. These changes are complex and the solutions are far from simple. Mechanization has eliminated much of the need for hand labor while creating needs for workers who can operate and maintain machines. Shifts in population and the well-documented tendency of young people to move out of rural areas have further complicated the problem.

A change in employment office organization and the system for delivery of services to rural areas appeared to be needed to attack the problems resulting from these changes. Area Concept Expansion (ACE) was born of this need to find a better way to provide in-depth services for rural America. Dr. Karl Fox of the Department of Economics at Iowa State University, it might be said, fathered the functional economic area concept in *Change and Community Adjustment; Metamorphosis in Rural America*, published at Ames in 1967. He defined a functional economic area as a multi-county economic unit which exhibits the following characteristics:

(1) The residents have a feeling of personal identification with a larger community (a center city).

(2) Commuting patterns seem to follow the functional area.

(3) Traffic patterns show an increasingly heavier flow as one moves toward the center city of the functional area.

(4) A common communication pattern usually exists.

(5) Distance seems to be a practical criterion for delineating the area. Commuters and consumers show a willingness to drive for up to one hour to reach a city that has a full range of goods and services and a wide spectrum of job opportunities. This means a distance of 50 miles outward from the city center.

(6) A functional economic area has some semblance of an organized economic layout.

To develop an innovative Employment Service reorganization and manpower service delivery system for such a functional economic area, a two-year experimental and demonstration project was specially funded for the Ottumwa, Iowa, area and began operation in October, 1966. Much was learned in the effort to adjust organization and operations to provide appropriate

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manpower services for this 12-county area, which had an approximately 50-mile radius with its Area Employment Service office at Ottumwa. This was a full-functioning office. Its manager became the area manager. Three limited-functioning offices at smaller outlying towns were made satellite offices tributary to the Ottumwa office, where centralized applicant, employer service and order files were maintained. Four operational units were created. The field services unit delivered decentralized extension services through the satellite offices and further extended these services through newly established, more remote out-station centers which were served on itinerant schedules. Intensive services were provided through three centralized area office units: employability development, employer service, and community services.

Leased wire telephone facilities tied the network of offices together and made it possible to check with central control before making a referral to any opening in the centralized area job listing to a job anywhere in the area. Thus applicants were afforded areawide exposure to jobs, in-depth services were scheduled for those needing jobs, employers were given better service in that they could draw needed workers quickly from anywhere in the area, and the whole operation was effectively coordinated. A detailed report on the success of this project was published by the Iowa Employment Security Commission in 1969 under the title "Breakthrough in Rural Manpower Services."

Within the framework of this concept, our COFEA--Central Oregon Functional Economic Area--was identified and our ACE was conceived. It was nurtured in the womb of a project proposal to the U.S. Department of Labor and born of funding for the project which called for delivery of in-depth manpower services to an area previously under-served; under-serviced because of its size, distances which had to be covered, and a staff insufficient in number to adequately expand the full range of manpower services to an area of this magnitude.

The area chosen for the Oregon project is a tri-county area of 7,837 square miles. There are four major communities in this area: Bend, with a population of 14,130; Redmond with a population of 3,800; Prineville with a population of 4,380; and Madras with a population of 1,690. The total population of the three counties is 53,390. Prior to the project there was a full functioning office in Bend and a satellite farm office in Madras. The project established satellite offices in Redmond and Prineville. The Central Oregon functional economic area project involves these offices.

The objective of this Area Concept Expansion project in the functional economic area is many faceted, as displayed in these approaches to the delivery of comprehensive manpower services. Included in these approaches are:

(1) Structuring a coordinated delivery system based upon the needs of the "functional economic area" under the direction of an area manager.

(2) Centralizing services requiring a high degree of technical competence and specialization in the area's central office or parent office, but at the same time extending capabilities for placement, job development, and outreach to all sections of the area through satellite and itinerant offices.

(3) Maintaining a strong commitment to provide the rural area residents, workers, and employers with manpower and supportive services comparable to those provided in the more populated urban centers.

(4) Improving total services to the rural area by coordinating manpower service activities with other service agencies and organizations, both public and private, to better serve residents and industries in outlying sections of the functional economic area.

(5) Facilitating the movement of labor market and operational information throughout the area through development and use of job bank or similar areawide interchanges of job openings and efficient telephone communications.

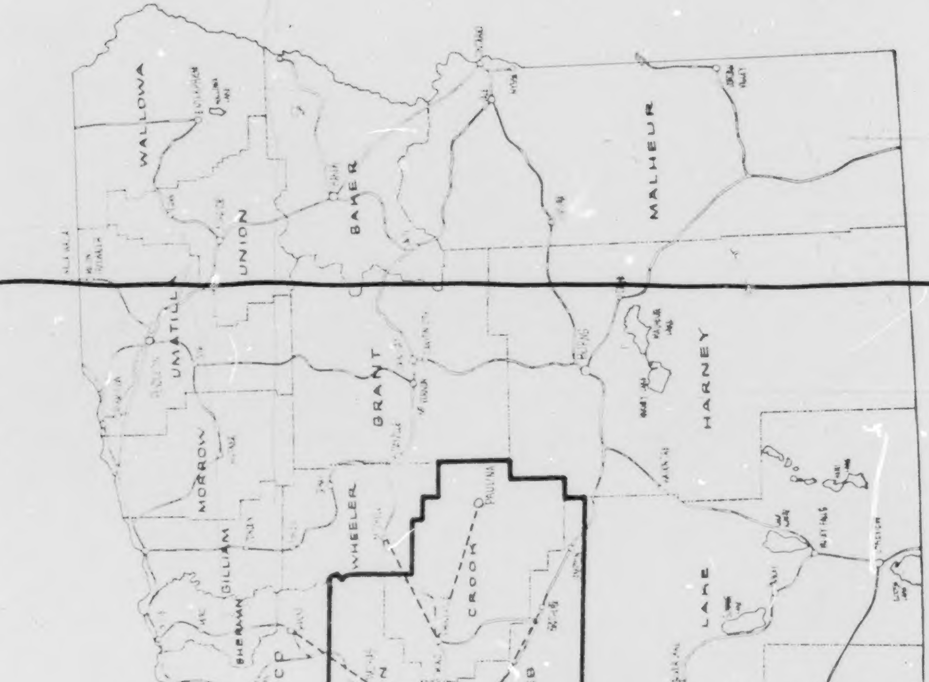
While the Oregon ACE project was generally similar to the Ottumwa project, some differences emerged. Some of these resulted from differences in the nature of the two areas. The Central Oregon area has a population of a little over 50,000, where the Iowa area has a population of 126,555 over 25 years of age. This smaller population in the Oregon project is spread over an area almost 12 percent larger than the Iowa area.

Population centers in the Oregon area are interconnected by good, hard-surfaced roads which are readily usable at all times except for short periods in the most extreme weather. Because the distances are somewhat greater, however, a proportionately lower level of commuting for jobs appeared likely from the onset in the Oregon project area. Results indicate this did have some effect in producing a proportionately lower level of intra-area placement activity. Nevertheless, the accessibility afforded to even the most remote rural residents and worksites by the good roads is apparent in that the project area functions well as a single labor market. Still, the local labor market areas surrounding the towns in Central Oregon continue to be significant local parts of this large labor market.

Like the Ottumwa project, satellite offices were established in three outlying towns, and outreach points were set up in several more remote communities. The outreach points were, in part, served on a regular schedule, with other less productive points served according to need and/or opportunity. The project got underway in two of the satellite offices in February, 1971. One of these, Madras, with a population of 1,690, is 42 miles north of Bend. The town and surrounding area had for years been served during the summer by a seasonal farm labor office which had also provided considerable service to potato warehouse and processing employers, other agribusiness employers in the area, and employers whose operations were unrelated to agriculture. In 1968, services to the area were augmented by the Smaller Communities Services Program for several months. More recently, the Madras office had operated throughout the year as an Indian outreach office extending services to area Indians, especially those on the Warm Springs Reservation.

The second satellite office was opened at Redmond, a town of 3,800, 16 miles north of Bend. In prior years a seasonal farm labor office had been operated there during potato harvest until mechanical harvesters reduced the demand for large crews of hand pickers. The third satellite office was opened in April 1971, at Prineville, a town of 4,380, which had at times been served by a seasonal office primarily for potato harvest. The Smaller Communities Services Program had also served Crook County with a temporary office in Prineville for several months in 1968 and 1969. Outreach offices were established in city halls at Sisters and Mitchell, the Grange Hall at Lapine, and the general store at Paulina with a regular itinerant schedule. The project counselor was scheduled to visit the satellite offices and their areas in rotation, including particular attention to the Warm Springs Reservation. The community relations specialist also visited the various areas to contact community leaders, news media, local agency representatives, and employers in cooperation with the satellite office supervisors. The map on page 101 may help in visualizing the area served by the project.

Total staffing added for the project included a counselor, a community relations specialist, two satellite office supervisors, and two half-time clerks. Problems of funding, locating premises for the satellite offices, and recruiting staff in the midst of a general reclassification made promotional lists obsolete, delayed starting of the project, so the two clerical positions were soon increased to full-time. No additional staff was provided for the Madras office. In fact, shortly after the project started, it lost a full-time staff member whose function was only partially continued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JOSEPHINE
CURRY
COOS
LINCOLN
BENTON
POLK
YAMHILL
TILLAMOOK
WASHINGTON
COLUMBIA
CLATSOP
PAULINA
WARM SPRINGS

thereafter by several NYC student workers in succession. The Madras area benefited greatly, however, by the additional services of the counselor and the community relations specialists, though the latter gave more attention to the other satellite office areas, since community and employer relations were already in good shape in Madras. All added positions were located in the field, thus adding to the duties of the administrative office staff.

The limited staff available for such an extensive project limited the degree of centralization that could be achieved. This was evidently realized to a lower degree than in the Ottumwa, Iowa, project. Added responsibilities were assumed by the area manager and his assistant who is also the Employment Service and placement supervisor in the Bend office, so they had to spread their attentions farther and thinner. An additional position assigned to the Bend office to supervise and bring together all project operations would have afforded opportunity to unify operations more thoroughly. As it was, the extra clerical position originally assigned to handle the centralized area applicant and order files and to give clearance to satellite offices to refer on intra-area or inter-area orders was eliminated in the general budget cut at the end of July 1972. The community relations specialist position was another casualty of this cut. The coordination of operations which had been maintained, in part, through these two positions has suffered somewhat.

In spite of these limitations, excellent results have been obtained by the satellite offices, largely because of the energy and dedication of project staff members. Each satellite office supervisor, with the help of the community relations specialist, developed very effective relations with community leaders, local news media, representatives of other agencies serving the area and employers. These good relations enabled these offices to provide an outstandingly high level of services to their areas at relatively low cost in view of their extent. Because of the freedom to innovate and adapt their approaches, to search out and concentrate on the avenues which yielded best results, the satellite offices, the counselor, and the community relations specialist, while the position continued, were able to significantly expand and render services.

A "before and after" comparison reveals that both extensive and in-depth services can be delivered to rural areas even when relatively small extra funding is supplied and combined with the Area Concept Expansion type of organization (adjusted and operated according to the special characteristics of the particular area). We are doing this with our ACE.

Comparing 1972 fiscal year nonagricultural placement figures of 4,185 for the area against 1968 fiscal year nonagricultural placement figures of 3,132, we see a 33.6 percent increase. These two years were chosen because 1968 is a preproject year in which the economy was comparable to 1972, the first full year after implementation of the project. Comparing 1970, the first full year prior, would not be fair since it was a low-economy year which, if compared to 1972, would show a tremendous 71.6 percent increase in nonagricultural placements, 2,433 nonagricultural placements in 1970 compared to 4,185 for 1972. To point out a few more economic factors, the total labor force grew 20 percent over the previous two-year level and total employment grew 36 percent over the same period, while total population grew from 48,028 in 1970 to 53,390 in 1972, or 11 percent. We feel confident we have contributed to these astounding figures.

A more detailed understanding of this drastic improvement in services to the overall area and its local parts can be obtained by examining the following table which lists 1968 total output, 1972 total output, and 1972 performance by Bend and individual satellite offices. It should be noted that the fiscal 1968 figures here listed include, in addition to the normal output of the Bend and Madras offices, the production of the smaller communities services team, which operated for three months of the year at Madras. While it was heavily engaged in making an applicant potential and economic base study of Jefferson County, the team also performed many additional services, especially in employer and community relations, placement, testing, counseling, and referral to training. So the 1968 items were considerably higher than they otherwise would have been.

A number of the methods used were new. Others had innovative aspects developed to fit needs as they arose or to best utilize available facilities. Great help was gained by establishing sound relationships with area newspapers and radio stations. Each of the three satellite office towns has a weekly newspaper that cooperates by publishing frequent news features describing programs and successes of the project. Beyond this, one of the satellite office supervisors arranged to write a short column each week describing the job situation and any currently difficult-to-fill openings. He also conducts daily jobcasts over the local radio station handled by telephone from his desk.

The Bend office also provides a daily employment news broadcast through a local radio station and the Redmond office has a weekly jobcast by

Area Activities

	FY 1968 Total	FY 1973 Total	Bend	Redmond	Prineville	Madras
Openings Received	3798	5171	2454	636	973	1108
Nonag. Placements	3132	4252	1956	646	831	819
Ag. Placements	2976	1213	35	78	175	925
New Applications	4365	6600	3929	998	959	714
Counseling Interviews	1043	1380	678	122	249	331
Tests, GATB, SATB and PROF	495	660	340	106	109	105
Nonag. Employer Phone Calls	811	610	55	207	205	143
Job Development Contacts	450	904	264	220	302	118
Ag. and Nonag. Employer Visits	1492	1282	336	238	452	256

telephone over the Redmond station. Arrangements were made with a local cable-casting TV station in Redmond for a weekly program to be presented by the office staff. The station owner wanted to use the local staff so they would become better known from the TV exposure as the representatives of the Employment Service in the area. Although this station owner later moved, the programs were telecast often enough to greatly help area residents become acquainted with the services provided by the Redmond office. Appearances at meetings of community organizations have been used effectively by the community relations specialist and satellite office supervisors to explain available services and programs and offer cooperation and assistance in working out community problems. The supervisors serve as members and sometimes as officers of local service clubs. In addition, continuing contact is maintained with county and city officials. County courts have been particularly helpful in identifying problems and people who need help. These officials, as well as other influential people in the community, have been most appreciative of our services. Through his contacts with the county court, the Prineville office supervisor made arrangements to help the county set up a mini-civil service system. Administrative office assistance was obtained to prepare job descriptions and an improved classification system for county employees. The Prineville office arranged to do screening and referral for all new hires by the county. A city-county-state interagency council was developed in Prineville; the supervisor participates in its meetings and activities.

Counseling service was greatly improved in the Madras area. Extra service was provided by furnishing counseling to Warm Springs Indians interested in pre-apprentice training. Expansion of the Indian-operated resort facilities at Kah-Nee-Ta on the Warm Springs reservation by the addition of a large deluxe motel with convention and added recreational developments afforded training opportunities for a number of Indians and other disadvantaged people to staff these facilities. NAB-JOBS training contracts were developed whereby a number were provided on-the-job training at the Kah-Nee-Ta resort and some at the Benson Hotel in Portland. While this appeared to be a fine way to provide additional skills and regular jobs for these people, success was rather limited.

An improvement in Employment Service services to Unemployment Insurance claimants was provided in the Madras and Prineville areas by stationing a claims taker--adjudicator at Prineville--and providing itinerant claims service to Madras which is 13 miles closer to Prineville than it is to Bend. Job information and referral service to claimants was thus considerably improved. Except for loggers who commute some distance to and from the woods, most people are more interested in work near their homes, though there is some commuting between the nearer towns. Bend, however, serves as the major shopping center and provides hospital and other services for the entire area.

The efforts to provide an area-wide job bank type operation and a tie-in with the Portland metro area job bank were less productive than had been hoped for, even after job bank operations were expanded statewide with delayed microfiche delivered by mail a day late. These low results may, in part, be explained by the emergence of the fact that the area's commuting patterns are especially heavy in the vicinity of the local communities. Limitations on commuting seem to result from the same reason that seriously limits outreach and employer relations in the area. This is simply a matter of time and distance. A central Oregon saying describes this: "It's 40 miles to *anywhere* here, and a round trip takes half a day." People seem relatively reluctant to move from one community to the other. Often they think that work may open up soon nearer home, so they tend to wait. The tight housing supply in the area may contribute to this. Nevertheless, both intra-area and inter-area referrals are made, but with a relatively low incidence of success.

Another difference from the Iowa project may also inhibit the success of intra-area operations and effective use of the centralized files. A prominent feature of the Ottumwa project was the leased-line telephone tie-in of all offices that provided convenient, readily available communications. In designing our ACE project, similar communication ability was sought but was impossible to obtain. Three separate telephone companies serve the Central Oregon area. Their systems are incompatible, so that leased wires would be prohibitively expensive to arrange. It was planned to try to overcome this with a citizens' band radio system. Investigation proved this too would be too expensive. Aside from the distance, the terrain is a problem. Bend at 3,623 feet elevation and Redmond at 2,996 feet are situated on the high plateau that slopes down from the Cascade mountains. Prineville at 2,868 feet and Madras at 2,242 feet elevation are in deep valleys. Scattered throughout the area are lesser mountains and buttes. These land masses, we were told, would block off any economical radio system that could be obtained, so we had to settle for long distance telephone calls at regular rates. Though the budget was adjusted to cover this, it is still necessary to limit calls to the more essential items. This limitation prevents the timely, free and easy contact that could otherwise enable the offices to discuss matters in detail and cooperate more effectively.

In seeking to find a way to develop a few more jobs in a small town 47 miles northeast of Prineville, the office supervisor discovered that a service station operator had made a number of wire sculptures out of old, obsolete types of barbed wire and horseshoes. Recognizing that these art objects would be salable, the supervisor, after discussing the potential with the artist, passed the word to the press and this resulted in some very good publicity and an exhibit in the local hotel. It was hoped that enough sales and interest might be stirred up to encourage the artist to hire one or two helpers to produce the articles. This did not materialize, as the artist finally decided he did not want the added responsibility at his near-retirement age. There is a sound principle here, even if it did not fully work in this case. An unusual ability or talent, or a simply unexploited opportunity to produce something for which a market can be developed, if recognized, could lead to even a very few new jobs. And even a few jobs in a very small business are significantly valuable to a very small community. In our effort to better serve the needs of rural areas, we should not overlook such possibilities.

Another effort was more successful. The U.S. Forest Service annually recruits and employs a number of youths, housing them in Youth Conservation Camps. The project counselor and a satellite office supervisor volunteered to provide career information on occupations in ecology, forestry and conservation, and presentations were made to the girls at one ranger station and the boys at another ranger station. Arrangements were made to assist in recruiting the youths for the second year. Over 50 were recruited from Central Oregon and Portland, and the presentations were repeated for them. Cooperation continued into the third year, though the Forest Service was able to fund a position to oversee the recruitment and selection of youths for this summer activity.

Improved relationships with area high schools and counselors also have resulted from the improved ease of contact that followed staffing and operation of the project. Bulletin boards and space for an NYC worker in the schools to handle needs of employers and students for part-time work have been effective. Better understanding of employment division programs and services has been communicated to the school officials, and through them, to the students. This will have long-range benefits as they utilize agency services for their career and job planning needs.

Reduction in mileage and better coordination of outreach and counseling efforts have been achieved by having the counselor and office supervisor schedule visits to the more distant outreach points together. Where some office space if available, one utilizes it while the other has the car to continue outreach, counseling at applicants' homes, or visits to remote employers.

Through publicity and by making appointments with individual applicants, job-finding training classes have been arranged by the satellite office staff members. Though sometimes the number who show up for the scheduled training is small, real help is being provided to those who attend.

Project efforts have stirred a great deal of interest in various training programs, and this has led to much applicant processing for OJT positions, apprentice programs, NAB-JOBS, Job Corps, Emergency Employment Act work training, and MDTA training. While the Bend office had some degree of penetration into the adjacent rural areas with training opportunities prior to the project, it was greatly increased with the added staff.

Although some of our attempts were less productive than others, several conclusions can be drawn from these few examples and a reexamination of the project's operations. Gaining the confidence and respect of the community--showing that your purpose is *to help* and that you *care*--are extremely important in laying and maintaining the foundation for serving its needs. Contacts with key people who know what is going on and what is needed to help it succeed, and contact with the general public through full utilization of area news media greatly contribute to appropriately directing approaches to area problems and to getting good results. The approach should be flexible, innovative and imaginative. But in the long run, far less depends on flashes of light and inspiration than on hard work, perspiration, patience, and dedication in applying standard Employment Service and manpower development methods. The area manager noted that gains were realized consistently in every service area where we were able to expend reasonable effort. He would like to do more--to cover more area more often. It was frequently necessary to pull back from tentative plans because there was not time and staff to carry them out. Two days per week instead of one would have allowed many more contacts in the outreach areas, when it takes half a day's travel to simply get out to and return from the outreach point. In addition to the need for strengthened staff to operate better in the areas already served, more remote communities are in need of more service. Lapine, to the south, is near the center of a concentration of some 3,500 people. The Sun River community is rapidly developing. Both need someone two to three days per week. The Sisters area is growing and will soon need an office. Other small communities beyond the presently served fringes could also be reached by the project with added staff, as originally planned.

Since we have demonstrated well in the Central Oregon ACE project that this concept works where and when we can work at it, we very strongly recommend that it be expanded--in the Central Oregon area and in other parts of Oregon where we can quickly see several very desirable locations--as well as in suitable areas of other states. If we are ever to really achieve equity in delivery of services to all rural people and areas, this type of organization and action must be far more widely applied. Area Concept Expansion *is* a concept whose *use* should be expanded!

DELIVERY OF RURAL MANPOWER SERVICES UNDER OPERATION HITCHHIKE

Jim Booth
Collette Moser
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Operation Hitchhike (OH) is a pilot program approach to the delivery of manpower services in rural areas. In 1971, the U.S. Department of Labor began operating the program through its affiliated system of state employment services. The OH format for the delivery of manpower services emphasizes a cooperative arrangement between state employment service offices and other existing rural institutions. These include Cooperative Extension Service county offices, community colleges, farmer organizations, and other agencies.

Since 1971, 18 states have received funding for Operation Hitchhike projects. Goals of the projects include helping rural residents have the same access to manpower services that exists for urban residents and developing cost-effective delivery systems for rural areas. Various staff and organizational structures are utilized in striving to achieve these goals.

This survey was undertaken to determine what manpower services were being delivered and the variety of delivery methods under OH contracts. The emerging administrative patterns were also analyzed.

In November, 1973, a 13-page, 40 questions, request for information was sent to OH units in 18 states. Telephone calls were placed to those who hadn't responded by the end of November. Sixteen of the eighteen states responded, giving 26 units of data.[1] Responses covered units serving 83 rural counties or areas, and the Navajo Reservation in the 4-corners area of New Mexico.

Since the purpose of the inquiry was to obtain descriptive information on delivery methods, output data were not collected and cost-effectiveness of service could not be estimated. Moreover, an extensive examination of the importance of the cooperating agency relationship--the "Hitchhiking"--would require a more detailed and on-site study.

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[1] *Where contracts had several operating units which the project officials felt were so similar as to provide substantially identical responses, data could be provided on the basis of representative units. In the cases of Alaska, Nebraska, and Vermont, a representative composite of data was submitted for 12-15 operation units; similarly West Virginia, Kentucky, and the Navajo Reservation used composite sets for their 4-unit operations.*

Similarly, while manpower "community development" activities are significant in the OH framework, restrictions on the length of the information sheet prohibited a detailed investigation of manpower "community development" methods.

Survey Results

Results of the survey of delivery methods are divided into the following categories: (1) allocation of staff time by function, (2) organizational structures, (3) outreach, interviewing, and referral methods, (4) employability development methods, and (5) employer and general services.

Allocation of Staff Time

Respondents were asked to allocate staff time on a percentage basis to various functional areas or activities associated with Operation Hitchhike.[2] The aggregated percentages were grouped into four major output areas plus administration. Table 1 gives the distribution of responses.

The two largest users of staff time were "registration, interviewing, and referral" (28.8 percent) and "employer contacts for job orders" (14.6 percent). In addition to these traditional activity areas, a variety of manpower services occupied a significant part of staff time. Activities outside of the traditional placement function were not concentrated only in preparing the worker for employment, but were also allocated to community and employer development activities. The reported administration time was relatively low at 3.9 percent.

Organizational Structure

Operation Hitchhike contracts give each state latitude in developing its delivery model and administrative structure. The purpose of this diversity is to meet the diversity of needs based on geographic differences, variations in existing agencies, etc. As a result, Operation Hitchhike structures are not alike. Nevertheless, based on the job description and staffing patterns, an attempt was made to categorize the various Hitchhikes and four models of structure emerged. Table 2 summarizes these models, although it should be remembered that variations existed within the models. The "Staffing" column indicates the extent of staffing of the Employment Service, the cooperating agency, and any

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[2] *"Staff time" includes the time of workers who were not paid from Operation Hitchhike-Department of Labor contract monies as well as those who were.*

Table 1 -- Estimates of Distribution of Staff Time
Among Functional Areas of OH - November, 1973

	Percent	
Outreach, Interviewing and Referral		
Public relations	4.6	
Employer contacts for job orders	14.6	
Outreach to applicants	5.9	
UI claims	1.8	
Registration, interviewing, and referral	28.8	
Verifying placements with employers	3.7	59.3
Employability Development		
Referral to other agencies (supportive services)	3.5	
Additional follow-up support to referrals	2.6	
Counseling	3.4	
Testing	1.3	
Enrolling people in training programs	3.5	
Follow-up and monitoring of training	1.8	16.1
Employer Services		
(Employee turnover problems, surveys of the labor force, manager/supervisor training, wage rate surveys, information about OSHA, Wage and Hour, UI, WC, EEO)	7.3	7.3
Auxiliary Development Activities		
Work with schools	2.9	
Work with other agencies	4.4	
Manpower planning	2.4	
Economic development	2.3	
Non-manpower public service work (fairs, etc.)	1.4	13.4
Administration and Other	3.9	3.9
TOTAL		100.0

additional supporting staff. The next column cites OH units in which the pattern was observed. The final column gives the approximate functional allocation of time observed under each staffing pattern.

Under Model I the Employment Service contracts with the cooperating agency to employ part-time "community associates" to deliver the volume of applicant services. These "community associates" usually have some other primary job (such as working in the local Chamber of Commerce or National Guard) which keeps them in contact with a cross-section of the community. Cooperating agency support to associates is usually administrative in nature.

The second set of models indicates a dominant role for one of the two key agencies, Employment Service or the cooperating agency. In Model IIA (Hitchhike in name only), the Employment Service delivers the services. Model IIB uses the cooperating agency staff for 90 percent or more of staff time for operating purposes. Various combinations of paraprofessionals, secretaries, and related support may be used.

The Employment Service and the cooperating agency both provide the operating staff under Model III. Various combinations of paraprofessionals and clericals are used to support the interviewers and agents.

Model IV emphasizes the use of paraprofessionals with a smaller professionally trained support staff either covering a larger geographic area or backing up several paraprofessionals. This professional staff is usually drawn from the Employment Service. The paraprofessionals differ from the community associates in Model I inasmuch as the paraprofessionals are agency staff and the associates are similar to paid volunteers. Operations under this format tend to have the most narrow scope of activity, devoting over two-thirds of their time to interviewing and referral and only about 10 percent to employer services and community development.

Outreach, Interviewing, and Referral Methods

Twelve questions were asked to determine the variety, extent of use, and the satisfaction with various methods of outreach, interviewing, and referral services. Information on which methods were used to attract job applicants to the project was collected for categories of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged clients. Table 3 summarizes these responses. Except for a relatively higher percentage of disadvantaged applicants being referred from other agencies and more intensive use of media for reaching nondisadvantaged applicants (in certain OH units), no major

Table 2 -- Models of Operation Hitchhike Projects - November, 1973

	Staffing	Examples	Percent Operating Staff Time	
OH Model I	Cooperating agency employs part-time community associates. Typical staffing for an operating unit would be 1 month agency staff support + 2.5 months (full-time equivalent) of community associate.	Nebraska (12 units) Alaska (15 units)	Interviewing & Referral Employability Development Employer Services "Community Development" Administration & Other TOTAL	52.3 21.5 2.5 13.5 12.7 100.0
OH Model* IIA Single Agency (E.S.)	Employment Service employs the operating staff; no paraprofessionals used. Typical staffing: 12 mos. Employment Service staff + 2 mos. NYC/OM.	Washington (5 counties) Oregon-Grant/Harney	Interviewing & Referral Employability Development Employer Services "Community Development" Administration & Other TOTAL	50.0 12.0 4.0 34.0 0.8 100.0
OH Model* IIB Single Agency (Cooperating Agency)	Cooperating agency employs 90% or more of the operating staff time. Representative staffing: - without paraprofessionals 1 mo. Empl. Svc. + 12 mos. MP. Agent + 2.3 mos. secretary - with paraprofessionals 1 mo. Empl. Svc. + 12 mos. MP. Agent + 12 mos. paraprofessional + 2.4 mos. secretarial + 5 mos. OM/NYC - Navajo Reservation 12 mos. interviewer + 12 mos. counselor + 12 mos. job developer.	Idaho-Boundry Idaho-Franklin & Oneida Wisconsin-Pierce Wisconsin-St. Croix Wisconsin-Barron New Mexico-Socorro New Mexico-Luna & Hidalgo Navajo Reservation	Interviewing & Referral Employability Development Employer Services "Community Development" Administration & Other TOTAL	61.6 14.6 1.7 13.4 8.7 100.0

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

	Staffing	Examples	Percent Operating Staff Time	
OH Model* III Dual Agency Staffing	12.7 mos. Empl. Svc. staff + 14.7 mos. CES MP. Agent with 9.6 mos. paraprofessional + 2.4 mos. Secr. + 14.8 mos. OM/NYC or 9.3 mos. Secr. + .7 mos. NYC/OM.	Iowa-Kossuth & Palo Alto Michigan Allegan Clare** Gladwin** Sanilac N. Carolina-Brunswick N. Dakota-Traill & Steele New York-Schoharie Oregon-Morrow, Gilliam, Wheeler, Sherman Oregon-Wallowa Virginia** W. Virginia (5 counties) Wisconsin-Janeau	Interviewing & Referral Employability Development Employer Services "Community Development" Administration & Other TOTAL	58.9 17.1 4.5 14.8 4.7 100.0
OH Model* IV	Based on paraprofessionals supported by E.S. staff. Typical staffing for a community would be: 5 mos. of E.S. representative + 11 mos. paraprofessional.	Kentucky (5 units) Michigan-Lake Vermont (13 units) Mississippi**	Interviewing & Referral Employability Development Employer Services "Community Development" Administration & Other TOTAL	69.4 15.4 .3 9.7 5.2 100.0

*Some other cooperating agency staff may operate in support of OH.
**Responses not received for tabulation.

Empl. Svc. = Employment Service.

CES = Cooperative Extension Service.

differences existed in the methods by which job applicants made contact with the OH projects. Walk-ins dominated for both disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged.

"Word of mouth" was listed as being used by applicants to inform their friends of available services. The expanded nutrition program and the office secretaries of Cooperative Extension programs were contact sources. Agent presentations at service clubs, Chambers of Commerce, high schools, student groups, etc. increased attention to the projects. One respondent remarked that when labor supply was short the manpower agent would "make the rounds of bars and rooming houses." More than 75 percent of the respondents felt their outreach methods to be effective although they seemed slightly less satisfied with their effectiveness in reaching disadvantaged applicants.

Self-help services, including Job Bank book, were used by more than 50 percent of the responding units, but reaction was mixed in terms of evaluating their effectiveness. In some cases they made no attempt to record or evaluate the response to these methods.

No clear pattern emerged in terms of where the interviews and referrals were conducted. Although Extension offices and project offices were most frequently used, places such as the applicant's home, itinerant service points, public facilities such as schools, places of business, and restaurants were occasionally used for interviewing and referral activity.

Employability Development Methods

"Employability development" refers to a variety of ways in which barriers to employment are removed, the job applicant is upgraded and maintained and supported until he or she is job-ready and placed. Thirteen survey questions examined methods such as counseling, testing, skill training, supportive services, and follow-up activities in order to determine (1) the nature of each, (2) who performed the activity, (3) where it took place, and (4) opinions about its effectiveness.

The first step in employability development is, of course, diagnosis. All but one of the respondents used GATB. About one-third of the respondents also used GED and Civil Service exams for certifications. In some states, students applying for certain vocational training are required to take GATB.

Rural residents have difficulty gaining access to testing and counseling. In two-thirds to three-fourths of the cases a full-time counselor for testing or training is seldom or never available. Most frequently

Table 3 -- Percentage of Applicants Attracted by Various Outreach Methods - November, 1973

	A. Disadvantaged Applicants		B. Non-Disadvantaged Applicants	
	Range of OH Responses	Average of Responses	Range of OH Responses	Average of Responses
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Walk-ins	2 @ 0-10 7 @ 60-85	36.2	2 @ 0-10 7 @ 60-76	44.5
Referrals from social agencies	5 @ 0-10 3 @ 60-75	30.2	9 @ 0 2 @ 20-50	6.7
Knocking on doors	11 @ 0 3 @ 30-45	7.4	15 @ 0 3 @ 20-30	4.9
Contacting community "leaders"	6 @ 0 4 @ 20-25	9.1	4 @ 0 7 @ 20-30	11.3
Information centers (no interviewing staff)	13 @ 0 4 @ 10-15	3.4	13 @ 0 5 @ 10-15	3.7
Mobile information units	24 @ 0 2 @ 5-10	.6	23 @ 0 2 @ 10-25	1.5
Media (press, radio, TV)	2 @ 0 6 @ 20-38	12.7	4 @ 0-10 3 @ 54-98	26.8

Table 4 -- Who Performs Testing and Counseling on OH Projects

	A. Testing			B. Counseling		
	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom or Never	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom or Never
Full-time special counselor	2	5	19	6	2	18
Regular staff member (non-counselor)	6	4	16	5	10	11
Local counselor from other agency or school	1	2	23	1	5	20
Itinerant staff	2	12	12	2	10	14
Available at a distant site	6	12	8	5	12	9

testing and counseling are available at distant sites. In about one-half of the cases these services were available from itinerant staff. Table 4 gives a summary of the incidence of testing and counseling activities.

Training is another important aspect of employability development and all but two or three of the respondents used Manpower Development and Training (MDT). There was a tendency to use on-the-job training (OJT) more frequently than institutional training. The emphasis on OJT is partially explained by access to institutional training sites. One-half responded that institutional training "seldom or never" took place locally. Only one-third said training frequently took place nearby; 58 percent said that the institutional training frequently took place at a distant site. At least one-half of the respondents had frequent or occasional access to community college and WIN (Work Incentive) training programs. Most of the respondents occasionally enrolled applicants in Job Corps.

Twenty-one out of twenty-five respondents felt that access to training was either important or very important to clients, while the other four felt it to be somewhat important. Such responses emphasize the need for skill development in rural areas. Evaluation of the importance and effectiveness of testing and counseling was more mixed with about 20 percent of the respondents believing them to be only somewhat or not important or effective.

An interesting aspect of employability development under OH is the extent to which follow-up activities and extra effort are used in conjunction with applicant referral to other agencies (e.g., training and supportive services) and to employers. Telephone, mail, and personal visits were made to clients who had undergone training or who had been to supportive services. The small size of the communities makes follow-up easier and increases the potential for cooperation and communication among agencies to whom a client has been referred. About two-thirds of the respondents felt this extra effort or extra support for applicants was very effective or effective; the other one-third felt it was somewhat effective.

Employer and General Services

In addition to the usual contact activities of verifying placements and outreach to employers, about 7 percent of OH staff time was used to provide a variety of employer services. Most prominent among these was the provision of labor law information (Unemployment Insurance, Occupational Safety and Health Act, Workmen's Compensation, Equal Employment, etc.). Other kinds of information generating activities such as surveys of the potential labor force and wage rate surveys were provided at least occasionally in about 70 to 80 percent of the responses. Work with job restructuring, supervisor training, and employee turnover problems was more infrequent. Nevertheless, some units (Michigan) reported that educational activities such as workshops for employers were important in strengthening the job economy and gaining access to employers for placement and informational purposes.

In terms of labor market information, data derived from the operating units, employers' job openings, and the state Employment Service were used in at least 75 percent of the cases. The pattern of labor market information use indicates an emphasis on localized labor demand data. Table 5 gives the detailed responses to this question.

OH units engaged in a variety of public relations activities with particular emphasis on use of radio and newspapers. Service group talks and distribution of brochures were also used at least occasionally in over 85 percent of the cases. Displays, mailings from the University, TV, high school presentations, and use of local advisory boards were used but less extensively.

General Strengths

In assessing the strengths of their OH systems, two ideas are

Table 5 -- Labor Market Information Use by OH Units

Source	Very Frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom or Never
Summary data of your operating unit	7	13	0	5
Surveys of the community's labor force	3	8	7	7
Surveys of job openings from employers	6	11	6	2
Survey of wage rates	1	1	13	10
Survey of students	0	7	8	10
Occupational Outlook Quarterly	1	3	14	7
University sources	1	6	11	7
State employment service	12	9	4	0

emphasized: (1) rural residents have a greater access to manpower services; and (2) the "hitchhiking" function has provided a staff with community contacts and cooperation.

In addition, the OH format seems to provide the following:

(1) A variety of methods and techniques for service delivery
(2) Flexibility in staff assignments and programming
(3) Personal involvement of the OH staff
(4) Comprehensive services to both employers and job applicants
(5) Involvement in rural development with human resource agencies, manpower planning, and economic development

All of the above are important components for a comprehensive manpower service delivery system for rural America.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE IN AN ALTERED POLITICAL SITUATION: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CONCERTED SERVICES

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Auburn University

Visualize for a moment a large, rural county in New Mexico.[1] Its population of 16,000 persons has a per capita income of $1,030 (1966) yearly, which means that this county has the distinction of being one of the hundred poorest counties in the nation. The county has about 160 private, commercial farms, with 6 large ranches comprising two-thirds of the land. Twenty percent of the county is Indian tribal land. Most of the terrain is hilly and dry, and is of poor quality. About 7 percent of the residents are employed in agriculture, and 84 percent are on a wage salary.

No doctor or dentist resides in this county of 3,800 square miles. There is no hospital. One housing report showed that of the 880 housing units surveyed in the county seat, only 15 percent were found to be standard, and fully two-thirds of all occupied units were classified as qualifying for demolition.

As recently as 10 years ago there was no vocational training of any kind in the county, with the exception of short courses that were occasionally offered. The high schools had no vocational programs, even though money for vocational training theoretically has been available for the school systems since the Smith Hughes Act of 1917.

In this county there is no full-time mayor, no university or community college, no city manager or city planner. No strong organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce can be found. No skilled businessmen from large companies are present who will donate time and effort for economic and social development.

Several government agencies have regular contacts in this county--Public Welfare, Agricultural Extension, BIA, Public Health Service--and others have occasional short-term contacts. Their impact, however, seems to be minimal. The Agricultural Extension representative reportedly spends most of his time on the large ranches, or developing an orchard project; but he is presently on a one-year leave of absence. The Employment Service maintains no office in the county, nor does it send a counselor into the field.

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[1] *This description is abstracted from Richard Holesnon, Horacio Ulibarri, and Mark Hanson, Concerted Services in New Mexico: An Evaluation of Developmental Change (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina State Center for Occupational Education, Research and Development Report No. 5, 1969).*

Yet 16,000 persons reside here. Is there any resource the government can provide to improve the quality of their life? Or are they too far away from governmental resources to be served? Must they be left alone to engage in a harsh character-building struggle with nature, or should they be encouraged to move to the city?

Let us assume there is a commitment to develop the area. Where does one begin? If you were the change agent in such an area, where would you start, and, in terms of our interests at this conference, what resources would you need to do your job?

Before discussing these questions, I would first like to briefly describe another rural situation. This three-county area in Minnesota[2] differs in a number of respects from the have-not situation just described. It is nonmetropolitan, and the people tend to be quite conservative, but there the similarities apparently cease. The area has problems which a change agent must confront, but they are different from those of the New Mexico county. The Minnesota area has several things going for it. Four area vocational schools are within these counties or are within commuting distance. One of these schools is widely known for its innovative programs. There are 16 industries that employ more than 25 people each. An airport, nine hospitals, doctors and dentists, and full-time municipal officials are present in the area. In relative terms, however, the area is poor. According to Minnesota Department of Welfare studies, these three counties are included in a nineteen-county list which is designated as a "poverty belt."

These two accounts of rural areas describe conditions in pilot areas chosen for two of the early Concerted Services projects. It should be pointed out that conditions have been altered in several respects since the inception of the program. They are used here as a background for the questions raised earlier: How does one begin the development process in such areas? What resources does a change agent need in order to begin the process?

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[2] This description is abstracted from Lois Mann, George Donohue, and Charles E. Ramsey, *Concerted Services in Minnesota: An Evaluation of Developmental Change* (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina State Center for Occupational Education, Research and Development Report No. 7, 1969).

In responding to these broad questions which are basic to any program of planned change, I shall indicate several ways in which Concerted Services has utilized sound principles of development. This was the conclusion that a team of evaluators reached in their three-year study of the program, and my own occasional contacts with the program since that time have not led me to substantially revise the earlier assessment.

Concerted Services As A Concept of Development

Concerted Services is a program of human resource development which links a local change agent, called a coordinator, with an interdepartmental task force in Washington. This task force is comprised of representatives of all the federal agencies which carry on programs in nonmetropolitan areas. The local coordinator typically is a person from the county and state being served, and is chosen in consultation with key local and state residents. In cooperation with these local residents, the coordinator seeks out and brings together all the resources and services potentially available to the area being served. The coordinator meets with other coordinators and the task force in Washington twice a year. Typically a program begins in a single county, and expands its services after about a year to one or two additional counties.

Concerted Services is a low-cost operation. Usually a local program comprises one coordinator and a secretary, or if the area is multi-county, a coordinator, an assistant, and a secretary. A coordinator does not administer an action program himself, but instead serves as a support person who helps local agency personnel and other residents secure programs and resources which they might not otherwise know about or be able to obtain.

Concerted Services is described in some detail in the evaluation monographs published by the National Center for Occupational Education at North Carolina State University. In those reports the coordinator is variously described as a catalyst, facilitator, local knowledgeable, and support person.

In the remainder of this paper I will discuss certain principles of development, and examine Concerted Services as a concept within this perspective. (This perspective, incidentally, is dictated both by choice and necessity. Other speakers on the program are much better qualified than I to provide up-to-date information on programs, costs, etc.) Viewing Concerted Services as a concept lends itself to some predictions about potential areas of difficulty and opportunity which seem to confront the program now and in the immediate future.

The fact that we are treating Concerted Services as a concept--that is, theoretically--does not mean that the level of analysis is removed from practical considerations. Kurt Lewin once made a remark to the effect that nothing is as useful as a good theory.

First, Concerted Services provides needed corrections on some of the limitations inherent in bureaucracy. "Bureaucracy," in the mass media and for the majority of Americans, is a bad word. It is synonymous with big government and inefficient government. When a person thinks of bureaucracy, he thinks of red tape, standard forms in triplicate, and referrals from one office to another. In sociological research, however, the concept *bureaucracy* is neither good nor bad. Bureaucracy is one logical way large numbers of persons can be organized so that certain defined tasks may be performed. Bureaucracy, then, is a fact of complex organizational life.

Bureaucracy,[3] as a type of organization, involves clear-cut divisions of integrated activities which are regarded as duties inherent in a particular office. The assignment of tasks occurs on the basis of qualifications which are ascertained through formalized, impersonal procedures. Bureaucracy has several important merits. It tends to make behavior predictable, and, in one sense of the word, rational. Authority is regularized and tends to be associated with positions, not individuals. Very importantly, specialization is possible. Individuals who stay in a particular position for an extended period of time are enabled to become skilled at their jobs. Contrary to folk wisdom, a bureaucratic structure can be very efficient, particularly if the tasks assigned are those that have been regularly performed in the past. A further merit of bureaucracy is the fact that support from other specialists is available to the incumbent of a particular position.

But bureaucracy has serious limitations. Specialization is a two-edged sword. An individual who becomes skilled at certain kinds of tasks will neglect other types of tasks. Veblen called this negative aspect of bureaucracy "trained incapacity." By this he meant that one's abilities may function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may be inadequate if conditions change. Also, guidelines designed to cover whole categories of situations may be dysfunctional for the exceptional situation.

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[3] *See* Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1957), pp. 195-206.

Bureaucracy also tends to breed narrow loyalties and ethnocentrism. In a typical large-scale bureaucracy, the chain of command moves through several levels of authority. At each level are several units, each with a person in authority. These several units may be thought of as social networks with built-in reward systems. A certain amount of loyalty to the unit itself, and to the persons who dispense rewards, is generated by the structure. An individual in a given unit may admire the way things are done in other units, but any comparisons made between his own unit and others should be discreet; that is, if he expects to continue to receive rewards in his own unit. Indeed, loyalty to one's own unit sometimes tends to generate suspicion and hostility toward other units. The reward system sees to this.

Concerted Services, as a concept, provides a certain amount of flexibility that a bureaucratic structure frequently lacks. In fact, Concerted Services has been greeted with some skepticism because of the free-wheeling character of some of its activities. From the beginning, Concerted Services has had few guidelines. Perhaps the program's closest thing to a guideline is its statement of objectives:

(1) Develop general operational patterns for concentrating all of the available, emerging and necessary agencies and resources on the occupational education problems, and as necessary on the health, welfare, socioeconomic, and related problems of those residing in the three communities.

(2) Identify existing and potential employment opportunities as occupational education programs available to youth and to adults who are unemployed or whose income is insufficient to maintain a respectable standard of living.

(3) Develop ways in which these rural communities can provide educational guidance, and other services needed to help people become employable and secure employment. This would include development of plans for: increasing basic educational skills, improving general conditions of health and correcting physical conditions, improving appearance and personal characteristics, providing vocational counseling, and developing occupational competency.

(4) Demonstrate that occupational education programs, in conjunction with other economic development activities, can significantly increase employment opportunities.

(5) Demonstrate that a concerted occupational education effort, based on local involvement, will develop indigenous leadership, individual dignity, initiative, and community awareness resulting in continuing community development.

(6) Determine the relationship of the traditional educational and occupational patterns of people in the communities to their present and emerging needs and make recommendations for necessary adjustments.

I recall C. B. Gilliland, former executive secretary of the program, describing the skeptical response of a highly placed state official: "You mean you turn a man loose in a county with no supervision and no guidelines!" Mr. Gilliland responded that the kind of person who was chosen for Concerted Services could be trusted to work with local people in setting up guidelines that *suited their own* local needs.

Bureaucracy typically does not provide for such flexibility. Job descriptions define acceptable behavior for each position, and idiosyncratic behavior is curbed.

Our evaluation found the coordinator's flexibility to have distinct advantages. We documented several projects that were tailor-made to local situations which might never have been implemented had they been left to persons playing the standard agency roles. The coordinator's freedom, however, occasionally causes some tension between coordinators and agency personnel.[4] Inasmuch as Concerted Services receives its funds from bureaucratically-organized agencies, coordinators must relate to personnel from these agencies at the national, regional, and state levels. As one might expect, there are pressures to bring the coordinator's tasks more nearly into line with those of the regular organizational statuses.

I would like to consider another way in which the Concerted Services approach is consistent with knowledge in the social sciences, particularly in the fields of mass communication research, and the diffusion of innovation studies. Within these fields, it seems that whether the researcher is studying the ways doctors accept and begin to use a new drug, how school teachers adopt new math, when farmers switch to hybrid seed corn, certain similarities are apparent.

The Concerted Services concept seems to be consistent with findings on communication and change in at least three respects:

1. The coordinator is strategically located in several social networks. All the studies show the mass audience to be comprised of smaller, primary groupings, each with their own "gatekeepers" or opinion leaders. These key persons receive and interpret messages for persons who are a

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[4] *This tension is not as great as one might expect. The initial evaluations found local agency representatives overwhelmingly favorable in their response to local coordinators.*

part of the networks they respectively influence. Thus, in generating wide-scale change, it is not necessary to get the message to every individual. Important contacts with key opinion leaders are often all that is needed. Our studies show that the coordinators knew and were known by the opinion leaders in the areas they served. Our original evaluation also showed that these opinion leaders tended to view the coordinators favorably, and often worked with them.

2. The coordinator has access to a long array of information. He or she usually knows where money for the community can be obtained. And he or she probably knows when an effort to secure funds is likely to be a waste of time, and thus can guard the local people against failure. (In the early days of Concerted Services coordinators were not as experienced at this sort of thing as they are today. I have the impression that the program personnel have gained a general expertise in this area based on earlier successes and failures.)

Some communication researchers distinguish between the cosmopolite and the localite. A *cosmopolite* is one who receives information from channels outside the local system whereas a *localite's* information tends to be drawn from the local system. The distinction holds for individual perspectives too, not just for sources of information.

A coordinator is a localite and a cosmopolite. He clearly has access to information from outside the system: Washington, the state capitol, or the regional office. For local perspective, the coordinator has an area reference group--the persons with whom he interacts daily--and another reference group, the Interdepartmental Task Force, as well as the other coordinators.

3. The coordinator has just enough job security to be able to take some risks. All the studies of diffusion of innovation show that change is most likely among risk-takers who can afford to try something new, and still survive. Very poor farmers, for instance, are rarely first adopters. They cannot afford to take risks.

As mentioned, a change agent in the New Mexico county or the Minnesota pilot area would be concerned with two questions: 1) Where does one start? 2) What resources does one need to do the job?

In response to the first question, our evaluation showed that the coordinators started with a survey. Interestingly, a recent report by the coordinator in Minnesota entitled, "What We Do Best," emphasized the survey. His report indicated that surveys conducted by the coordinator involved "contacts with people, industry and local organizations at the community, county, and multi-county levels."

In response to the second question, our evaluation was that a change agent generally needs four types of resources:

(1) Local contacts

(2) Legitimization

(3) Access to local resources

(4) Access to resources outside the system

Limitations of the CSTE Concept

One of the problems Concerted Services dealt with in the early days of its organizational life was the difficulty rural people experienced obtaining access to governmental resources. During the 1960s when unprecedented sums of money were available for domestic programs, a disproportionate share of these funds went to urban people despite the fact that Congress apparently intended rural people to share in the largesse. In the cities were persons who could write proposals. In the cities were votes--hundreds of thousands of them. Even when programs were subjected to critical evaluation, the cost-benefit ratios of urban programs were more impressive than those in rural areas. A change agent usually could make a bigger and faster showing in the city than in the small town or the country. Generally, change agents found it easier to reach clients in the urban areas.

Nothing has changed to make a rural or small town change agent's work easier today. Most of the votes are still in the city. Wealthy persons and more politically powerful persons are there too. Rural people are still dispersed and, consequently, more difficult to reach. If anything, the problem is more difficult today because many domestic programs have been cut back or phased out--urban and rural.

During the 1960s, Concerted Services demonstrated that it could effectively enable rural people to gain access to governmental funds. Coordinators assisted local leaders in writing the requisite proposals, they helped them obtain the necessary supporting data, and when necessary, taught community leaders basic lessons about the political process. At about the time this expertise was being developed, however, the funds began to be cut back--first because of the growing needs of an expanding war in Southeast Asia, and then because the new administration had different priorities than the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

It is beside the point to debate here whether or not this shift in priorities is appropriate. I have some deeply felt ideas on the subject, and I suspect you do too. The question is whether or not CSTE can be effective in this modified situation.

With the coming of decentralized federal decision-making, more of the important decisions are being made in the regional centers. To my knowledge, the Interdepartmental CSTE Task Force has no counterpart at the regional centers. Perhaps this needs to be done. If it were tried, the following questions arise: From whom would its authority derive? Would the implementing of another level in the chain of command invalidate the original concept of direct contact with Washington personnel? Would this structural development, in effect, mean that the local coordination is two or three steps removed from the persons who plan and implement programs? The latter question can be partially answered by suggesting that, to the extent real power and authority reside at the regional level, coordination needs to take place there too.

Concerted Services is limited by the number of persons who can have effective access to persons with real authority or power. The limits can be reached two ways, by a wholesale increase in the number of local coordinators, or by limiting the amount of time and effort Washington-level personnel can give to the program.

CSTE is limited by the fact that resistance to coordination is predictable from certain quarters. "People don't like to be coordinated," was the way one Cooperative Extension official responded when I explained the Concerted Services concept to him. To be sure, he was talking about the attitudes of rural residents in the Deep South, where any kind of intrusion into the established folkways is regarded as "meddlin." But I suspect he was describing a problem that change agents confront regularly in every region. Coordination costs. It costs in terms of loss of time, loss of certain freedoms, loss of individual recognition, etc. And it is unlikely that coordination will be forthcoming unless: 1) potential cooperators are convinced that benefits far exceed the costs; or, that 2) potential cooperators are ordered to either cooperate or risk sanctions. Coordination involves an investment of time on the part of the persons coordinated. There may be extra meetings to attend. It often involves giving up some authority. Coordination means delegation of tasks, and, eventually, accountability.

Lest it be imagined that only rural farmers or small town merchants and educators are the only persons who resist coordination, it should be noted that real coordination rarely exists at the highest levels of government. During the initial stages of the Concerted Services evaluation, it was decided that the evaluation ought to focus upon two levels of action--the pilot areas, and Washington. One of the Task Force members in Washington responded to my query: "If Concerted Services has done no more than get some persons from different agencies to work together--and it has--Concerted Services has been a blazing success." He went on to say there was a lot of lip service given to coordination, but little real action.

Given these two conditions, the coordinators face certain disadvantages: 1) they do not have easy access to a pot of goodies--categorical programs are few and funds are not lavishly given; 2) no one at top levels presently seems to be pushing hard for coordination.

Conclusion

Most Americans do not perceive the quality of life in nonmetropolitan America to be a major problem. *Newsweek's* recent poll (December 10, 1973:40) indicated "our biggest problems" are:

> Inflation (64 percent), Lack of integrity in government (43 percent), Crime (17 percent), Welfare (13 percent), Federal spending (12 percent), Taxes (11 percent), Pollution, overpopulation (11 percent), Energy shortage (10 percent), Education (9 percent), Alienation, social breakdown (8 percent), The elderly (7 percent), Racial discrimination (7 percent), Unemployment (6 percent), Foreign policy (4 percent), Health care (3 percent), and Housing (2 percent).

It is conceivable that this rank order could change. The recent rise in food prices and shortages of certain commodities rather abruptly indicated to the American public that our economy has a soft and vulnerable underlayer. The message may not have been well read, but it was there: If rural systems begin to malfunction or fall apart, urban systems cannot survive. Because the shortages were not of long duration, the American public seems once again to have concluded that all is well in rural America. Thus, I do not see a general expansion of governmental services for rural people unless a real crisis (e.g., a depression, serious food shortages, a rebellion by farmers, etc.) occurs.

Ironic as it may seem, the most probable role for Concerted Services will be in the least-developed and in the most-developed rural areas. In the well-developed areas, where there already are numerous resources, the most pressing need is for coordination of resources. This activity generally is welcomed in such areas because effective coordination eliminates overlaps and gaps in services.

In the "have not" areas the coordinator can make a showing if he can succeed in getting anything started. Even a modest improvement is a gain. The only way is up.

What does this mean for rural areas at the middle levels of development? Short of a crisis, they probably will be left to shift for themselves, making use of traditionally available resources.

DISCUSSION OF SESSION III - PART B

Wendy Rayner

Thank you for your presentation. I think there is a little time for some questions and I won't go into any summation of the presentations. I encourage you to discuss the various programs individually with the individuals here if you have further questions. Also, we at Cornell have recently prepared a report on Operation Hitchhike which you may receive by writing to me.

Kenneth Rainey

It's not so much a question as an observation that comes out of this meeting and others like it that I have been to, and that is what you might call the tyranny of the demonstration grant. Good ideas, good applications, suffer the same fate as bad ideas and bad applications. For a couple of years what happens is that we really don't have a mechanism in the federal grant and aid system for a sure continuity in things like this. The thought is that somehow, by some miraculous mechanism, poor people in poor areas are going to pick up and bring in ideas that the federal government has shown to work. And this is not fair to them. This is close to the way we have handled this through Congress. We penalize this continuity in that there is no great national publicity enduring another year of funding for something that seems to work. You get in there and you start a new demonstration project on top of an old one. I wonder if anybody has got any ideas about how we can get around that?

Wendy Rayner

I would just like to make one comment. I agree with you. I am working on Operation Hitchhike. We have learned many things. So what?

Jim Booth

I would just like to respond. We are seeing rural development being implemented. In Michigan we have $35,000. There is supposed to be a rural development effort, but that is so little money that we can't pick up either Hitchhike or some of the rural development things that are going into that. So as a result it's the generation of new things that are starting which will recede and start that old momentum. If funding grows in the future under rural development, it will move in a different direction than the pilot efforts that are already in.

Louis Levine

May I ask this? If survival, if continuity requires survival, and bureaucrats come as near to knowing how to survive as anybody, then demonstration projects better learn how to bring bureaucrats into the game. If they play it on the side, they will be lost to starve. One-time demonstration.

John McCauley

We've been thinking about one possible approach in connection with services. The way this came about I should say is that we have had quite a number of requests from states asking if the federal government might fund the second project or the third project of the state. We finally settled upon this position in the interdepartmental task force. We would support only one project in each state with a large agricultural population, but then work with state officials to establish a state committee that would have responsibilities for deciding how a second or a third or a fourth project might get funded. I don't want to steal Ray Marshall's thunder. He may be talking about some of this tomorrow in his talk on state activity. But Texas is one of the states where this arrangement is being made. A meeting is being scheduled there in February to talk about additional projects in Texas but without any firm understanding that the federal government is going to do all of this. It has to be a state responsibility.

Leonard Sytsma

No. Part of this I think kind of stems from an overstatement a while ago, but I am certainly not suggesting that you can do things without being innovative and trying some new things. I was only suggesting that if you sit around and wait for some bolt of lightning to give you some great new things, cure-alls of problems, you don't usually get anywhere. You don't get started and, therefore, you don't find the innovative things you might do once you get out there and get to work. Sometimes I think the problem is these special projects or grants are supposed to solve all of the problems in a two-year period and somebody looks and says, "well, gee, that wasn't so great, you still got a problem." I am reminded of the comments that have been passed around in the last several years about MDTA. I am not defending it. There are some good things about it and some bad things. For several years I had the program shop in our agency responsible for MDTA and WIN and all of these kinds of things and the most frequent comment that is made about MDTA is: "hell, we have had it for 10 years and it hasn't solved unemployment." Now anybody who looks at that legislation and thinks that MDTA could solve the unemployment problem of this nation is just kidding himself. And yet that is the criterion on which the damn thing is being evaluated. We have got to be realistic. You are not going to go in there and solve all of the problems the day after tomorrow. It is a little bit at a time, like eating the elephant.

Wendy Rayner

Are there any other questions? If not, thank you very much and we will close.

SESSION IV

IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL MANPOWER DELIVERY PLANS

RURAL MANPOWER SERVICES:
INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS AT THE STATE LEVEL

A. Edward Hunter
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I do not want to deviate totally from the assigned subject matter, but I do wish to warn you that for the last 60 days, I have been working on the energy crisis in Minnesota. What you will receive from me this morning are some thoughts and perhaps some recommendations about how I feel state and local government can best address or readdress the importance of manpower programs, and more particularly, the need for better delivery of manpower services in rural areas. I would like to talk about the general issue of state and local government involvement, including some new legislation in Minnesota, the 1973 Human Services Act enacted earlier this year; something I feel has the potential for improving delivery of manpower services to rural areas.

When I first accepted this challenge, I diligently set out to list what I thought would be the legal or institutional barriers to effective delivery of manpower services. I had a nice long list. But the more I thought about what is preventing effective manpower service in rural areas, the more often I reached the same conclusion. The enemy here *is* us--state and local government. What I'd like to propose today is the possibility that the single, most important barrier, institutional or otherwise, is a lack of commitment or even a lack of attention to manpower problems, more particularly rural manpower problems, by state and local governments. This includes not only the executive branch, but the legislative branch as well.

Some of you here are far more qualified than I to speak about our national commitment to full employment and manpower development. But it would seem to me, on the basis of a limited investigation, that we have no national commitment and that if we do, it's eroding quickly. I had the opportunity some years ago to meet Charles Schultz when he was with the Bureau of the Budget and I have had the chance to talk to him several times since then. As a result of these conversations, I read the Brookings Institution's assessment of the national budget every year, and I recommend it to you. The Brookings document, which is published every year, analyzes the federal budget for that fiscal year. It portrays, quite well, what they anticipate the national commitment

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to manpower programs to be for the next five, six, or seven years. If we had time, I could share some of these data with you, but the situation looks bleak to me.

If we are to have a commitment to manpower development and utilization, it may have to come from state and local governments. Stimulating the attention of governors and legislators will require substantial effort on the part of someone. During the past three or four years, I have made it a point to talk about this issue to as many legislators as possible, and I would estimate that I have talked to 70-75 legislators about the issue of a state's role in delivering manpower programs and services. The most common response is, "Well, yes, that's true. We probably should." But this matter is really not on their agendas at all. I have not had the opportunity to determine if this situation is true in other states, but I rather imagine, with few exceptions, that it is. Legislators or legislative committees, and probably even governors as well, are not asked to address the question of manpower development. They are not required to resolve issues of full employment, or manpower training. They are not asked to enact this legislation, except very rarely. It's not on their agendas.

The allocation of resources--the budget function--is a vital one in state and local governments. Yet, with the exception of vocational education and rehabilitation and one small program enacted in 1973, there have been no Minnesota state funds appropriated for manpower development and utilization--out of a state biennial budget of three billion dollars. If state and local governments are to be placed more and more in charge of the delivery of manpower programs, it will be no more than a minor, marginal change in program administration, with federal appropriations providing the fiscal base, unless we can get this matter on the agenda of state legislators. Without a state commitment, I see no hope for a substantial improvement in manpower development in rural areas.

One should not hesitate to begin with matters which may seem small, but are nevertheless important. Let me give you one example. We did take to the 1973 legislature a request for some monies for summer jobs for youth. We managed to obtain limited legislative attention to that issue and a small appropriation. I consider that merely a start. We're considering requesting the Minnesota legislature, in 1975, to appropriate funds to augment federal manpower program funds to cover the increased costs of state minimum wage boosts which will take place next year. Otherwise we will have to curtain program enrollments. Again, that's a small effort, but at present, it's a good deal more than we've had in the past. It at least requires some legislators and legislative committees to think about manpower, employment opportunities, and preparation for the world of work. At present, they aren't thinking about that at all except perhaps as individuals. As an institution, it's again, not on the agenda.

When we have time for discussion, I hope we can talk about this issue and see whether this is a phenomenon in other states as well. If it is, I hope we can discuss what we can do about it. I really don't have a good answer. The major thesis I'm proposing is that an important institutional barrier to the delivery of manpower services in rural areas is that *it is not an issue* to those who make state decisions. There is no commitment.

I earlier indicated I have been working on the energy issue for the last several months. I've tried as hard as I can to understand what this issue is and what it's likely to be. If what is being predicted is at all true, and I really haven't any evidence to dispute it, those who are concerned with full employment, with the problems of unemployment, and with manpower development and training will, over the course of the next two to five years, face an unprecedented situation. We can expect in 1974 unemployment levels to rise significantly. I've been keeping track of the estimates, and it looks like 6 percent nationally will be the minimum; the estimates go as high as 8 percent. These are reasonable estimates made by reasonable observers of the economic scene.

We can expect very serious unemployment levels in some industries and in some regions within states that will pose a real challenge to the manpower system. This will occur at about the same time that state and local governments assume the mantle for delivery of manpower services. On the basis of available evidence, state and local governments aren't, at present, prepared to do it; they have not made the basic commitment to this issue. For an example, I did see, just before I left, an analysis of how revenue sharing monies had been spent thus far by state and local governments. Along the left-hand column of the table was a long list of functions. There must have been 25-28 functions identified for which monies had been spent. Manpower, or anything like it, does not appear on the list. It's not as if there were small amounts of money allocated to this issue; according to that analysis, it wasn't even considered for expenditure.

Federal and state manpower policies, such as they are, are considered almost totally apart from other policy arenas. Most of you understand that those who are concerned with manpower policies are operating independent from those who are concerned with economic development, rural development, state growth (a very new but very visible issue among state governments today), and human resources. Perhaps that's to be expected since these are new efforts. In the case of state human resources development policies, for example, it might be best that states work out the issues and relationships and then, at some later point, manpower issues are added.

Minnesota enacted legislation in 1973 which is receiving a good deal of attention. It is an example of a major reform in a delivery system that came, not from a concern with improving the delivery system, but from a strong concern and interest in meeting a particular set of client needs. For the past three or four years, there has been a growing concern in Minnesota about the delivery of human services--public assistance, social services, services for the mentally ill, the mentally retarded, and correctional services. There was concern that those needs were not being met, particularly outside the metropolitan areas.

Out of that strong, overriding concern came legislation intended to reform the delivery system. This Act is permissive legislation. It removes barriers to mutual cooperation among counties and state agencies in organizing an effective system for delivery of human services. And I think it is going to work. It's not overly directive, yet its thrust is clear.

The delivery of social services in nonmetropolitan areas in Minnesota is chaotic. Some of the strongest support for this legislation, which is clearly intended to benefit rural areas or at least nonmetropolitan areas, came from metropolitan communities, from metropolitan constituencies, and from metropolitan legislators--not because they were concerned about reforming the delivery system in nonmetropolitan areas in Minnesota. They were concerned about the need for improved social services.

I'll make the analogy that if we are concerned about the need for manpower services, those improvements have to come from a general awareness of the need; a general commitment to provide assistance to the unemployed and the underemployed; not from a concern about reform in the delivery system. If we could get a commitment to the need and the allocation of resources, the delivery system reform will follow. This one small piece of legislation is clearly indicative of that approach, at least in one state. I have one copy of the guidelines for that legislation for those of you who are interested.

At this time it's not intended that manpower services be included, but in talking to those who are administering the program, I've found it is their intent to learn to walk with this a bit so that later they can learn to run with it and include some of the other services they recognize need to be involved. They really don't feel they understand enough about integrating human services at the local level to try to accomplish an integration of all human resource programs at once.

Let me talk about another matter which is of concern to many states; the layering of governments within a state for planning, coordination, and development. Most states are in some way or another establishing area organizations for coordination and planning. This can be an asset. At the same time, it has the potential for being a barrier, a very formal, institutional barrier, to the delivery of manpower programs.

In Minnesota we have legislation which establishes a regional development commission in each of the regions in Minnesota. These regional development commissions are in charge of planning, program coordination and area development within that region, including manpower. At the same time, we have established area manpower planning boards. At present, these two systems are parallel but separate. The question, of course, is what is the future relationship between these two. I can't answer that. All I can say is that the approach Minnesota has taken is to let those relationships work themselves out. We have, in effect, said to the regional development commissioners and to the area manpower planning boards--you work out the relationships you want to achieve in your region. The governor, under the legislation, has the authority to mandate a linkage between the two. He can require that area manpower planning boards become subsidiaries of the regional development commissions. That overly directive approach could be disastrous. We actually know very little about regional planning and coordination. Why are we to assume they are capable of doing it all at once? They can't.

Let me talk about one of the matters which is perhaps extraneous to all this, but one which is intriguing to me. Some of you may be aware that there are, in a number of areas, experiments underway to explore the application of communication technology to the delivery of public services. In Connecticut there is an operation called the New Rural Society involving Fairfield University and the Goldmark Communications Corporation. There are similar efforts elsewhere to assess whether microwave technology, other forms of two-way communication, and cable television, can be utilized to make the delivery of essential public services (clearly including labor market services) much more effective, particularly in rural areas. This does have the potential for improved labor market operations. We have regions in Minnesota which are bigger than the whole state of Connecticut. That's true in many states represented here today. The delivery of services, manpower services included, is hindered by the physical problem of distance. These communications efforts, which are very rudimentary at the present, have a great deal to offer. Yet I haven't seen, and this may be a lack of knowledge on my part, any efforts to specifically tie those new techniques to the operations of the labor market. The operations of the labor market lend themselves very well to experimentation with this approach. If we could expand the definition of "institutional barriers" to include physical distance that must be overcome in nonmetropolitan and rural areas, this issue might warrant your attention.

DECENTRALIZATION AND REVENUE SHARING: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL MANPOWER DELIVERY SYSTEMS

Robert M. Hunter
University of Colorado

Introduction

The signers of the Constitution may have sowed the seeds for centralization when they put their names to that document creating a federal government. It is also clear that the legislation creating the annual personal income tax in 1913 sped the process along. But the greatest impetus for centralization must have come as a consequence of the increased social and economic interdependence we discovered during the 1930s when, as Tennessee Williams so aptly put it, "The American people were having their fingers forceably pressed into the fiery brail of a dissolving economy."[1]

If the social disorganization of the Great Depression were not enough to set centralized planning and programming in place, the requirements of the mobilization against common enemies in World War II were. Washington, D.C. was, relatively speaking, a sleepy little southern town when Franklin Roosevelt arrived there in 1933. On the eve of World War II, the entire Department of State was manned by fewer persons than are currently on the staff of the U.S. Embassy in London. We are aware of the magnitude of change, but we sometimes forget how short a time it has taken.

We must also remember that the growth of the federal role in social and economic affairs proceeded against the main current of American ideology, which champions state and local prerogatives. The collapse of the state dole in depression times, the recognition of problems which states could not handle, and the recognition of social and economic inequities all contributed to a logic for federal expansion which rested on necessity and on efficiency. In each expansion, that logic was pitted against state and local prerogatives.

That direction has now changed. Major social changes, connected with the passage of several civil rights acts and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which enfranchised large numbers of minorities and protected their rights in law, thus overcoming major concerns for the fair distribution of federal resources, have made possible a return of various kinds of administrative authority to the states and communities. In order to place the transitional effort in context, we have to understand the history of regionalization and decentralization.

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[1] *Tennessee Williams, The Glass Menagerie (New York: Random House, 1945), Preface.*

Decentralization to Federal Regions

A Brief History

Federal regional offices have been with us for a long time. They have been necessary for the administration of centralized programs. Frequently they were the first stop where one obtained information before going on to Washington, D.C., where real decisions were made. I have been told that just as county courthouses are located roughly a day's horse and buggy ride apart, federal regional offices are located, in accordance with more modern means of communication, roughly a day's train ride apart. As a matter of fact, during the latter part of the Johnson administration, it was suggested that it was unnecessary to have the Denver Regional Office, since the Denver region could be served by Kansas City, only an hour's jet ride from Denver and only a day from Helena or Bismarck by propeller-driven aircraft.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, the major function of the ten (sometimes eight) federal regional offices was to initiate and provide administrative support for the proliferation of categorical grant-in-aid programs. To provide perspective on the volume of their administrative work, one may refer to the *Catalogue of Federal Assistance Programs*, Second Edition, June 1967, in which Sargent Shriver writes, "The book now contains all domestic assistance programs of the federal government." That edition listed 459 separate program descriptions, indexed by 35 diverse areas of human individual and environmental needs.

Many of us will recall that, even with the *Catalogue of Federal Assistance Programs* and with major thrusts from multi-county rural community action programs, rural areas came up on the short end of the grantsmanship game. Little was done by federal regional offices, even in regions with predominantly rural populations, to stimulate interest and particularly to coordinate different grant-in-aid programs to facilitate effective rural development. It is probable that rural county commissioners were difficult to stimulate. Rural deprivation was caused by a combination of a lack of knowledge and information and an absence of experience and expertise in grant writing; but, this situation was, at least in part, a consequence of natural independence, conservatism related to fear of external influences and resistance to change by rural leaders.

Creation of the Federal Regional Councils

In June, 1969, senior regional agency heads and directors were instructed by President Nixon to convene periodically for the purpose of providing coordination of the federal grant-in-aid programs. There was discussion at the time about the President's desire to develop politically responsive programs at the regional level by creating ten regional groups analogous to his cabinet at the national level. It was suggested that every group be headed by a direct representative of the President, probably from the Office of Management and the Budget, and that coordination of grant-in-aid programs (in order to increase efficiency by preventing duplication of program resources caused by overlapping agency functions) be achieved by fiat. There was talk of uniform grant application forms which would permit joint funding by multiple agencies and in turn provide comprehensive approaches, despite the specificity or narrowness of regulations governing individual categorical programs.

On February 8, 1972, President Nixon formalized the Federal Regional Council with Executive Order 11647. In the Order, the Domestic Council was given responsibility for the determination of major national goals and priorities which would guide the Federal Regional Council. The Office of Management and the Budget was given the responsibility for creating coordinating mechanisms. An Undersecretary's group for regional cooperation was established in Washington, D.C.; the Associate Director of OMB was named its chairman. The Undersecretary's group would resolve conflicts that could not be resolved at the regional level. Under the Executive Order, the regular membership of the council included representatives from the Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, Transportation, Housing and Urban Development and Justice (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) as well as from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Environmental Protection Agency. Executive Order 11731 of July 23, 1973 amended the previous order by adding representatives from the Departments of Agriculture and Interior to the regular membership and expanding the Federal Regional Council's function beyond the coordination of categorical program grants to include coordination of direct federal program assistance to state and local governments.

The Deputy Director of OMB replaced the Associate Director as Chairman of the Undersecretary's group.

The current functions of the Federal Regional Council, as specified in Executive Order 11731, include:

(1) Development of better ways to deliver the benefits of federal programs over the short term;

(2) Development of integrated program and funding plans with governors and local chief executives;

(3) Encouragement of joint and complementary federal grant applications by local and state governments;

(4) Expeditious resolution of conflicts and problems which may arise between federal agencies;

(5) Evaluation of programs in which two or more member agencies participate;

(6) Development of more effective ways of allocating federal resources to meet the long-range needs of states and local communities;

(7) Supervision of regional interagency program coordination mechanisms;

(8) Development of administrative procedures to improve day-to-day cooperation on an interagency and intergovernmental basis.

With all the brass--the Domestic Council, the Deputy Director of OMB, the Undersecretaries of the cabinet agencies and the senior leadership of the regional counterpart agencies--one would have expected great things to happen. However, up to this time, and putting it charitably, the progress of the Federal Regional Councils in achieving coordination of anything or anyone has been disappointing.

The Failure of Regional Coordination

In this transitional period of decentralization there have been and will continue to be major barriers preventing the intended function of the Federal Regional Councils. The first barrier has been the continuing administrative reorganization, which has proceeded by executive order and without acceptance or support from Congress. The uncertainty associated with the reorganization at the executive level has resulted in ambiguity and uncertainty at the regional level; the predictability necessary for the bureaucracy to function is absent.

Another structural barrier has been the highly asymmetrical pattern of decentralization. Some members of the council, for instance the Regional Manpower Administrator, early received authority over funding decisions in their program areas. However, the Regional Director of HEW is just now receiving such authority for the Office of Education.

With respect to manpower programs, of which OE's programs are critically important constituent parts, many decisions can be made only in Washington, D.C. Secretary Weinberger is the third secretary who has placed major emphasis on decentralizing the Office of Education and it looks as if he may be achieving his goals. While OE has been an extreme example, the transfer of authority consonant with responsibility to Regional Directors has been consistently resisted by virtually all federal national offices in varying degrees. The consequence has been an inability to have face-to-face negotiations among members of the Federal Regional Council in the regional office.

A third structural problem has been one of the staff-line relationships within the individual agencies. There is no full-time trained expert technical staff which can serve the Federal Regional Council as its single master. In Washington, D.C., planning and technical personnel, free from line responsibility for program administration, can dedicate their full energy to research, analysis, and good thinking. At the regional level, persons who serve as staff to the various Regional Directors frequently have, in addition to their staff duties, direct line responsibility for the administration and development of categorical programs in the states. It is from this pool of personnel, with both kinds of responsibility, that the Federal Regional Council must draw its technical expertise and, given the choice between loyalty to the principles set forth by the President for coordination, or loyalty to the individual agencies' categorical programs, personnel choose the latter. To the present, no dedicated cadre has developed to do the staff work necessary for meeting the Federal Regional Council's functional requirements.

The structural and bureaucratic barriers to regional coordination are matched by a political barrier. The regional office has no electoral constituency. Its constituency is bureaucrats. Isolated, uncoordinated federal programs have their constituencies in counterpart state and local programs which are equally uncoordinated. This situation detracts from coordination because the medium of exchange is money, not votes. While state and local politicos can make their wishes felt, it is in a round-about way and on ad hoc issues. The availability of federal monies gives an independent base of power to state and local bureaucracies.

Economic and psychological barriers are very closely related to the structural ones. When the original coordinating group was created in 1969, it was automatically assumed this group would be given discretionary funds over and above the funds in the individual members' agency budgets. The rationale for discretionary funds in a comprehensive and coordinated approach was that "glue money" would always be required to fill gaps between or among the categories of services narrowly specified by Congress. Even if all categories needed for a comprehensive services program could be covered, funds were necessary for at least short periods of time as start-up money, while the coordinators brought different funding cycles into a common time frame. However, instead of fund increases for the Federal Regional Councils, each of the agencies sustained major budget cuts. For several of the agencies such as OEO and HUD, the reductions were drastic. Thus, instead of a cooperative endeavor, each meeting of the Council became a competitive battle to use the command for coordination as an instrument to force agencies with their own categorical programs to fund the programs of agencies who had had budget reductions. The results were predictable. Members began to hold each other in utter contempt, at least with respect to their Federal Regional Council roles. Agencies with long-standing program commitments to states and cities spent their energy helping local officials salvage existing programs and little time and energy was left to think about innovative joint funding or other coordinating efforts.

All these barriers taken together make coordinated political responsiveness impossible and have had profound effects on the morale of regional office staff. When ambiguity is high, bureaucrats rely on traditional patterns of behavior which are conservative and directed primarily toward institutional self-maintenance. Open and free discussion necessary for coordination is reduced to a minimum. For the professional staff at the regional office, visits to state and local officials, instead of being rewarding, are now fraught with frustration and skepticism. Personal rewards based on satisfaction drawn from relationships with the recipients of grant funds become negative. All in all, regional office personnel reflect the consequences of working in a no reward, punishment centered bureaucracy. Such an atmosphere does not lead to the creativity or innovation needed to fulfill the intent of the executive order.

Decentralization to the States

Fortunately, there is far more to the concept of decentralization than placing new authority in the ten federal regional offices. The real thrust of decentralization is based on the concept of DEVOLUTION: a passing down through successive stages, and (devolve) delegation of authority or duty to a substitute. The term comes from the Latin, *devolvere*, "to roll down." When it is used by government planners, the term "devolve" means to *roll authority and responsibility down to the state level*, not to the regional office. Depending on the capacity in the state or local government and the national political realities, the stages include SUB-FEDERAL CENTRALIZATION, SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING, AND GENERAL REVENUE SHARING. Given different kinds of categorical programming, we may anticipate that the passing down will be neither symmetrical nor unilinear.

These words appear frequently in agency forward-planning documents, but so far as I can gather, their presence reflects their earlier appearance in the vocabulary of planning staff in what is now the Office of Management and the Budget. Since OMB figures importantly in the Executive Order cited above, as well as in the decentralization process, a slight diversion is in order to discuss its significance.

Bureau of the Budget

By the end of World War II, an executive agency emerged as a force for rationality and efficiency in administration--the Bureau of the Budget. The Bureau, which has since become the Office of Management and the Budget, has for many years been an invisible, and of late visible, government organization with unique capacities to initiate policy on its own, free from ties to any particular administration. In fact, one may observe that there are two divisions of the OMB: one division is located in the White House and is visible; the other is located (symbolically at least) in the Brookings Institute. When a political administration changes, the group at the Institute moves over to the White House, and the White House group troops over to the Institute. But with only slight changes in language, policies which have evolved over the past 25 years do not change. The rationality of OMB's plans and goals are seldom swayed in the long-run by short-term political considerations. I report this because there are those who are firmly persuaded that general and special revenue sharing, as well as the new requirements for the rational planning and accountability for federal funds, are simply political acts of the current administration. Such persons believe, or at least hope, that "this too shall pass."

Accountability, increased demands for efficiency and revenue sharing will not disappear. They will remain because they are not tied to a political administration any more than is the Office of Management and the Budget.

An Idea Whose Time Has Come

To the amazement of some, revenue sharing and the decentralization it implies is an idea nearly as old as our republic. Thomas Jefferson referred to it in his inaugural address in 1805. Its actual implementation is nearly as old. The Surplus Distribution Act of 1836 provided general revenue sharing dollars to the states amounting to some 28 million the following year.[2]

As an index of the increasing contemporary interest in revenue sharing, I checked the *Reader's Guide to Periodicals* to determine the frequency with which articles on tax or revenue sharing have appeared during the past ten years. Between 1963 and 1965 only one article was listed. During the next three years, there were five. Between 1968 and 1970, the number was 12, and from 1970 to 1972, 64 articles appeared.

Richard Nixon used revenue sharing as an issue during the 1968 presidential campaign. But lest one conclude that this administration pioneered the idea, it should be remembered that the 1964 Democratic Platform included a plank calling implicitly for a form of revenue sharing.

In the early 1960s the idea of revenue sharing received considerable push from Walter Heller (both while he was Chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Minnesota, and later when he was Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations) as well as from Joseph Pechman, Director of Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution.[3]

By 1967, studies of the budgetary processes, accountability, planning capability and authority of a sample of states and municipalities were being made by staff of the Office of Management and the Budget. Findings suggested there was an incredible lack of symmetry in the power and authority of governors and mayors to exercise control over the planning and budgeting processes in their various jurisdictions; a situation which, in my judgment, continues today. I asked one of the OMB staff, who had been studying the State of Colorado in 1968, if the study had been commissioned by the Johnson administration. He reported that OMB had a clear recognition that devolution was going to take place and that this study and many others had been initiated by the Office of Management and the Budget itself. The point I wish to make is that there are certain logical imperatives which appear in complex systems such as government, and that sooner or later, irrespective of political considerations, the imperatives win out: "Greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come."[4] The idea is not simply revenue sharing, but the entire constellation of measures bearing on planning for efficiency and effectiveness in government. The idea, in short, is the Office of Management and the Budget.

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[2] Maureen McBreen, "History of Federal Revenue Sharing Proposals and Enactment of the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972," Congressional Research Service (November 16, 1972), pp. 1-2.

[3] Sylvia V. Hewitt, "A History of Revenue Sharing," Congressional Research Service (April 4, 1973), pp. 1-2.

Rethinking the Federal Role

In the spring of 1973, a 30-page memorandum appeared in one federal agency, which describes the rethinking that has been going on for several years regarding human service programs. These ideas, summarized below, now are reflected in planning guidance documents which govern the five-year forward planning of several federal agencies.

Summary

In general, human development programs have not held up well under critical evaluation because: (1) program objectives are given vague or shifting definitions, (2) program objectives cannot be achieved because they are directed to problems on which the program has a limited impact, (3) program objectives may not be assessed well by the available measures, and (4) responsibility for the management of programs has been diffuse.

Federal Objectives

The federal government ought to attempt only those objectives in human services which can be judged appropriate and practicable on three grounds:

(1) Equity. The federal government has responsibilities to protect groups suffering discrimination, poverty, or other forms of deprivation.

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[4] Victor Hugo, *Histoire d'un Crime* (1852), Conclusion.

(2) Externalities. There are some services which it is more efficient for the federal government to perform than for the states to perform. Some problems are beyond the interest or scope of state government.

(3) Practicability. The federal government should not attempt objectives, no matter how laudable, which experience has shown it cannot achieve. Large-scale policy shifts, enforcement of federal legal guarantees and strengthening of state and local responsibilities may be the most effective federal role.

Federal Means

If a program serves a legitimate and practicable end, the next question is how best to organize it. The basic choices concern:

(1) The form of service. The federal government can provide service directly to those who need it, provide cash with which to buy the service, or provide vouchers or insurance.

(2) The form of organization. The federal government can administer the program directly or can transfer the resources to an intermediary level such as the states and localities.

Options for Reform

The above choices generate four main options for the reform of human services.

(1) Increased federal presence. Greater federal intervention can take the forms of direct provision of services, additional categorical programs, and elimination of state flexibility in program content. The advantage of this option is that it provides a concrete, uniform response to a problem. In the social services, it is difficult to justify this approach because of the belief that services are tailored to individual needs and the inefficiency created by the complexity of the added service programs.

(2) Status quo with improvements. Most agency proposals for reform call for maintaining the current program structure, but with improving the management of programs by specifying where flexibility is allowed the states, monitoring to assure good management, and by improving the measures of program outcomes. The main disadvantage of this approach is that it does not address the basic question of the efficiency of the structure.

(3) Different form of service--"cashing out." Under this option, the federal government moves toward providing fewer internal services and more cash assistance. Individuals are free to buy their own service from public and private vendors. The advantage of the option is that it maximizes the freedom of choice of the individual and utilizes the market mechanism. The major disadvantages of the option are that elimination of the rationing effect of limited service programs may greatly increase the cost to the government, and that complex redefinitions of eligibility and benefits will be needed.

(4) Different form of organization: subfederal centralization and capacity building. Under this option, the federal government

> increasingly delegates responsibility for social programs to the states or local governments. Resources of several kinds are provided to these units, but they are increasingly responsible for management of the programs. Only those interests which can be defined as federal concerns are protected by regulation of state activities. A change in organization under this option is not decentralization, but a centralization of programs under state and local governments. Federal controls remain to protect legitimate federal interests. An administrative burden is removed from the federal level.

This option requires an effort to help states and localities improve their capacity to plan and manage social services. Capacity building is the aspect of social policy which remains most completely under federal control. The federal government concerns itself less with the direct provision of services, and more with the development of institutions to provide the services through state and local governments.

The advantages of the option are that the state and local institutions are strengthened through attention to capacity building, federal involvement in the details of service provision is decreased, federal protection of specified national interests is enhanced and responsiveness of programs to individual needs is improved. The major disadvantage of this option is that it requires an orchestrated set of changes at the federal, state, and local levels.

Application to Manpower

Developments at the Federal Level

The reorganization of the Manpower Administration during the past four years provides us with a concrete example of the choices that have been made in accordance with the foregoing principles. First and foremost, Regional Manpower Administrators were given new authority and responsibility. Then Regional Directors for the Department of Labor were established and took their places on the Federal Regional Councils, although, for reasons already stated, little coordination was achieved by the councils.

During the same period, the Administration prepared legislation decategorizing the many special manpower programs. The legislation has been a long time in coming but its passage was perceived as inevitable. As a transitional step toward the multi-jurisdictional planning specified in the pending legislation, the Comprehensive Manpower Program, a prototype of subfederal centralization, was piloted during spring of FY '73. By fall of FY '74, Assistant Regional Directors for Manpower and the Regional Directors of HEW were ordered to expand the program from the original nine pilot projects and certification authority was placed at the regional level. This expansion offered mayors and governors the opportunity to build their planning and implementation capability with federal support and is the last step in the transition to manpower revenue sharing. (Editor's Note: The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act was signed by President Nixon on December 28, 1973, thereby bringing the transition to an end with full manpower revenue sharing.)

Changes at the State and Community Levels

The ultimate success of decentralization, decategorization and revenue sharing will require changes at the state and community levels. The history of local program administration over the last ten years gives me grave doubts that programs will be well run without federal intervention. It is, therefore, appropriate to ask what policy-makers believe will happen at the community level to avoid the pitfalls of the past. So far as we can gather, their hopes for increased efficiency and accountability are based on a faith in the democratic process. Policy-makers appear to be persuaded that the electorate will recognize that local administrators will have the authority to allocate resources in accordance with mandates from local elected officials, and that with this recognition will come the understanding that, for the first time since the 1930s, their votes will elect officials who can be responsive. It is anticipated there will be increased demands for participation in the allocation process. The requirement for timely publication of budgets for the intended use of funds and open public hearings should assure, with government monitoring for equity, fair allocation of resources in accordance with community needs.

One change which I would expect to channel this participation is the development of new kinds of joint agency-citizen-client advisory boards which can act as buffers between a concerned public composed of diverse interest groups each seeking their piece of the action and the elected political officials who will feel the heat. I would expect these boards to demand technical staff capable of undertaking research--social needs surveys, program monitoring, program analysis and evaluation--which will provide information, never available before at the national or regional levels, upon which intelligent decision-making can be based. To me, capacity building means the investment of federal funds to create precisely this technical capability for any political jurisdiction receiving revenue sharing monies. If the typical CAMPS Committees, Unemployment Insurance Advisory Committees, local Employment Security Advisory Committees, and ancillary manpower planning boards are examples of our current capacity for planning in the manpower field, it is clear that persons with new kinds of skills must appear. Professional planners must be employed and new kinds of research must be undertaken in order to justify the kinds of decisions currently being made for the allocation of manpower funds. The money now spent for planning by the federal government is inadequate to supply the research data and personnel that will be required in the immediate future, and recommendations without such a base of technical information will lead to purely political choices for allocation and no protection for harassed elected officials.

There is an additional critical problem. In order for manpower programs to be properly designed, resources from human services categorical programs, particularly those administered by HEW, must be coupled with manpower revenue sharing funds. In the absence of HEW revenue sharing, the task of coordination will be incredibly difficult. During the transitional period, this will be a major problem for a demoralized and disorganized federal regional office.

The Prospects for Rural America

The prospect that rural America will benefit favorably from decentralization and decategorization is, at least in the short run, pessimistic. Given the higher cost of services in rural areas, guaranteeing "equity" of manpower services for rural residents will be difficult. The proposed formula for allocation of revenue sharing funds leaves most rural areas under the allocation authority of "remainder of state," in the hands of the governor and state legislature, and the urban-suburban-rural balance in most state legislatures probably will not assure equitable distribution of funds for manpower services to rural areas. Perhaps if there were strings attached to federal funds requiring that they be distributed within the state according to the same formula used to determine the state allocation, some "equity" could be maintained.

Even if larger amounts of funds were made available, however, the organization of governmental units in rural areas would not be expected to lead to efficient programming. Efficiency based on economies of scale has dictated the formula that requires a minimum population of 100,000 in order for a political jurisdiction to receive manpower funds. What is required of rural areas is the abandonment of anachronistic organization along county lines, and the adoption either of council of government type multi-jurisdictional units or of consolidation. Old rivalries, conservatism, and independence in rural areas militate against such solutions. Manpower revenue sharing probably doesn't provide sufficient monies to bring about reorganization, but it may be that with subfederal centralization of the rest of the funds for human service programs, there will be sufficient incentive.

Finally, the existing expertise at the national and regional levels of the Department of Labor does not appear to offer a solution to the problems of equity in rural America. There are few persons remaining in the federal government today, particularly in the Manpower Administration, who have a comprehensive understanding of and technical expertise related to improving manpower service delivery in rural areas. On the other hand, rural areas in most states will be the only direct administrative concern for the governors and we can expect them to seek technical assistance for solutions to the rural manpower problems they will encounter. We can hope that, relieved of the enormous burden of program administration that has occupied their national and regional offices increasingly over the past 20 years, the Department of Labor and the Manpower Administration will develop an interest in research relating to rural manpower policy formulation which will enable them to respond to the technical assistance needs of the governor.

But it is not sufficient for us just to hope for changes which would achieve equity of rural manpower services; we must continue our advocacy of rural manpower interests. We should support the development of guidelines which assure a "fair" distribution of funds to rural areas--more funds than population figures alone would assure. We need to encourage the Department of Labor to support research which generates better labor market information, particularly in the arena of underemployment, outside metropolitan areas. We should encourage the Department of Labor to develop a cadre of specialists who understand and can provide sound technical assistance to governors regarding manpower programs in rural areas of their states. Finally, we should encourage county commissioners to consolidate or otherwise reorganize current political jurisdictions. These are all necessary steps if we are to achieve the Rural Manpower Service's goal of equity of manpower services in rural America.

OBTAINING STATE SUPPORT FOR RURAL MANPOWER

Ray Marshall
University of Texas

That language that Bob Hunter was using reminds me of an article I saw in the paper not too long ago that among other problems we've got in the country, there's a shortage of surplus property.

I have serious reservations about discussing "gaining state support for rural manpower." My invitation to discuss this topic grew out of a discussion that I had with John McCauley about some things we've tried to do in Texas. My first reservation is that I have learned that it's better not to tell all you know about things in Texas. And secondly, you're always on shaky ground if you try to explain what really happened and how things really took place. I also have reservations because this topic deals with the political process and I am not a political expert by any means. I come to this topic mainly as a researcher and therefore it would be better to entitle my remarks how a research group attempts to gain support for rural manpower problems, rather than how any other particular group would do it. I come also as a researcher who is interested in rural problems, primarily because of the conditions of people who are in rural poverty in the United States and not because of structures involved or political processes involved, but with an effort to try to answer the question, what can we do to try to alleviate the conditions of the people in rural America in general, and the people in the rural South in particular. I think if we could somehow constantly portray the conditions of rural people, especially in the South, to television audiences all over the country like we did with the Viet Nam war, we could get a lot more attention to the problem because the conditions are really unbelievable to most people who live in urban areas.

So with that in mind, let me tell you something about what we've attempted to do in our research work. I will first state the assumptions on which we have proceeded. I expect about half of these assumptions are wrong, but I don't know which half so we can talk about that during the discussion and answer period. We assumed, first of all, that it was going to be important to gain support for rural manpower at the state level because there is going to be a fair amount of action at the state level whether we like it or not. I profess to be one of those who traditionally has had an anti-state bias. I've always believed in the old saying that the problems were at the local level, the money was in Washington, and the apathy was in the states. I thought one would really have to deal with almost insurmountable odds in trying to work with state governments. I've changed my view about working with some states; particularly in some of the southern states where I got my original bias. I've been encouraged by developments in a number of southern states. We have at least seven or eight southern governors I wouldn't trade for any governor outside the South. So it's important to try to work with them whether we like it or not because for at least a little while, more responsibility will be shifted to the state.

Our second assumption was that it's important not to look at manpower in isolation from related problems. It is true that one cannot get much enthusiasm among policy-makers and politicians for manpower alone. We have found it much easier to get enthusiasm by relating manpower to vocational education, economic development, health, the energy crisis, and a whole range of other issues high on policy-makers' agenda. Manpower by itself might not get too much support, but manpower programs provide one way to get leverage on problems that are important to people.

We also assumed that effective researchers must have long-run involvement with policy-makers and practitioners in the political process. Just showing up one day doesn't have much influence with these groups. We've attempted over a long period of time to be responsive to requests for whatever help we can give to governors and members of the legislature and other state officials. We also have worked with the National Governors' Conferences, the Southern Governors' Conference, or anybody in a policy-making position who requests our help. In other words, we felt that if policy-makers knew something about us, we were likely to be much more effective than if we were unknown.

In trying to influence policy, we also assume that there is no one source of power in any state. That is to say, one doesn't work just with the governor or the legislature or with any particular private group. In Texas we probably have an unusual situation in that the Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker of the House have had considerable power relative to the Governor. There are also key individuals in the legislature who have a tremendous influence. Because of these pluralistic influences, if you encounter obstacles when trying to get something done in one area, you pull out and try to influence another group.

Texas also has private power sources that are extremely important and can move political and governmental entities. An important problem with respect to rural issues in Texas, as in the nation, is that there are no effective organizations working in rural areas other than the Farm Bureau, and the Farm Bureau has a fairly narrow interest. It, therefore, is important to try to stimulate growth and development of organizations to speak for a broader clientele.

The fourth assumption we make is that researchers have a role to play in the policy formulation process. We ought to bring objectivity, analytical techniques, and, above all, integrity and honesty to policy formulation process. We need to tell policy-makers what we think, even when we know that they are going to disagree with us and we're going to get a lot of criticism for what we've said. But if we've carefully considered a problem and come to a conclusion, we have an obligation to present it the way we see it.

The policy-research relationship clearly is not a one-way street; it is a quid pro quo. The researcher gets a lot out of this process, particularly knowledge. One gets a much better understanding of how the system works. One also learns about priorities, things worth thinking about, problems, and what works and why. I also think it important for researchers to recognize their limitations in the policy process. We shouldn't be too naive about our ability to get things done, we're not likely to have as much impact as we think we have or would like to have. We also need to recognize that decisions are going to be made on bases other than the research we present to the policy-maker, especially if we are doing fairly specialized research. But you can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that policy-makers know what we have found out, even if they give our findings little weight in their decisions.

One real problem that researchers have in trying to influence policy is that so-called experts rarely agree among themselves, so politicians and administrators frequently say: "Well, look, two or three other fellows were in here talking to me about that, and they said just the opposite." If research is to be helpful to policy, a process has to be developed to help policy-makers arbitrate differences between inputs. This kind of conflict is all the more reason for researchers and policy-makers to have long-term involvement.

Finally, I assume that involvement in political problems is a logical extension of teaching and research, making it both legitimate and desirable for academics to be involved in policy research. One problem with academics is that we've created false dichotomies between the world and what we're teaching. We'll say that's all right in theory but not in practice, but that's nonsense. Propositions are all right in theory and in practice, or something is wrong with the theory.

I also assume it important to get involved in the legislative process, because legislative involvement is an important part of the educational process. Even if you get the governor's attention, even if you get the governor's issue and executive order, that's no substitute for the education that accompanies legislative debates where people take sides and study the issues.

One problem with a democratic legislative process is getting attention. I think that's one of the reasons we move from crisis to crisis. We go through extremes because it's difficult to bring attention to important problems. Our last assumption, therefore, is it's very important to be alert to publicity. That's one reason we'll talk about rural problems anywhere, anytime, at the drop of the hat, and we'll usually drop that hat. If we can get on radio, TV, before legislative committees, before congressional committees, before the Southern Governors' Conference or any other place, and talk about the problem, perhaps in the long run we can have a little influence on some things.

Let me talk about a specific project as an illustration of how we have tried to influence policy with respect to a study we were asked to do for the Texas Rural Development Commission's Human Resources Committee. Our mandate was "to evaluate the extent and severity of poverty in rural Texas and to develop a strategy to alleviate unemployment, underemployment and low income." Our mandate was no small undertaking. We did the study--it was what researchers would call a "quick and dirty" job because, as is often the case with policy-makers and practitioners, they wanted their answers yesterday. We met very often with the staff and less frequently with committee members in order to avoid unpleasant surprises in the end. The study has been completed and is now in the process of publication. I won't go through all the details of how we did the study and what we found out. You probably know what we found out, i. e., there are some serious problems in rural Texas, many of which are not well known to the state's general urban population. We found particularly severe instances of poverty among minority groups in the state. Forty-four percent of the black, 45 percent of the Mexican-Americans, and 13 percent of the Anglos were in poverty.

We found serious health and income problems. We also looked at all the manpower programs to see what effect they were having. We were particularly impressed with what Operation Mainstream was doing in Texas. Contrasting Mainstream with PEP, we found that for the group concerned Mainstream was doing a better job. PEP developed jobs for people least in need of help, whereas the Mainstream program was getting to the people who were in great need.

In our work we emphasized the relationship between economic development and manpower. We therefore found the CSTE program to be very promising with a relatively small amount of money; CSTE was doing an effective job.

We also looked at the so-called "startup training" concept which has been in operation in a number of states and which makes a great deal of sense to us. The startup training idea seeks to avoid one main problem with manpower programs, namely training people for nonexisting jobs. Startup training also avoids one problem we've always had with economic development, namely attracting employers who have little understanding of local work forces. Startup training simultaneously trains work forces for employers so that when they start up they will have a better match between workers and jobs.

We also were concerned with the equity of access problem. One of the best selling points we made in trying to get this idea across was to translate it to a per capita base. For the programs that we can measure in metropolitan areas, manpower expenditures were $8.67 per capita, and in nonmetropolitan areas, $1.94 per capita. That's about $2.00 to $9.00 in terms of the disparity.

Let me comment about the problems we have had in working with groups like the Rural Development Commission and the Human Resources Committee (HRC). I think they're typical of the kinds of problems researchers are likely to encounter. The HRC was typical of such groups--its members were relatively conservative for the most part and deeply concerned. Despite some conflict and tension with our research group, HRC was a fairly reasonable group, willing to listen to whatever we had to say.

We encountered some initial hostility from those who thought research wasn't necessary; they knew what to do already. The most effective counter to this view is to make the questions you propose to answer as specific as possible, giving critics an opportunity to see how many they can answer. If one chooses the right questions, they will have guesses and hunches, but no answers. This will become clear as assembled critics start disagreeing among themselves over the answers.

There also is the obvious problem of values. When the question is asked: what caused low incomes and how is the problem solved; conservatives would like to say it's because people are lazy and won't work. Then what does one do about it? Well, they say do away with welfare or at least greatly reduce it. Food stamps cause emotional problems. Conservatives say give the money to the rancher and they'll create jobs. Others defend programs designed to help people directly. Any rural development project will involve such value conflicts. We also have to anticipate the "theory versus practice" conflict. We countered this argument by showing the relationship between theory and practice. One clearly cannot suggest an answer to a problem without a theory about it. If one takes the right action on the basis of the wrong theory, it's just because he's lucky. If theory is made explicit frequently, it will be rejected. In fact, a real obstacle to effective rural policies is the absence of a theory of rural development.

Some disagreements with policy-makers were expected, especially over the desirability of protective labor legislation and welfare measures. Whether or not food stamps cause people not to work was a source of some disagreement. I think the evidence is fairly strong that they do not, but there is a strong belief by growers and ranchers that they do. We stressed the fact that welfare and protective legislation were important for ranchers in these areas as a way to hold their work forces. Unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and an adequate welfare system all were supported, but there was some hangup about food stamps.

A second issue that we didn't get very far with was our recommendation that we extend collective bargaining rights to agricultural workers. I pointed out that many California employers now believe in extending collective bargaining rights to agricultural workers, although they disagree on types of coverage. There has been some shifting of position at any rate, with some unions opposing coverage because of the restrictions likely to be imposed and some employers favoring coverage because they want to restrict union activities, especially boycotts and organizational picketing. We didn't get very far with that.

Nor did we get very far with the argument that we ought to make some major recommendations about what to do about the Texas-Mexican border. The reason is that there is strong vested interest there. Anything we do in Texas is influenced by the flood of people coming across that border, but this is a difficult, controversial, and emotional issue.

Despite these disagreements, the things that we agreed on are more important. First was the need for equity of access for rural areas. The Commission accepted our recommendation that we ought to use subemployment rather than unemployment as a measure of equity of access. This seemed to us to be a very important point. Any number that you generate has policy implications. We generated unemployment numbers during the depression because that was our main problem. So when we talk about problems of rural areas today, unemployment by itself is a relatively insignificant problem, but is part of a much more important problem. What we're really concerned about today is not people who are willing and able to work and looking for a job. We're concerned about those who are not working, which is a different idea. We're concerned about people who are working part-time who would like to be working full-time. We're also concerned about people who are working full-time but making less than poverty wages.

Our calculations of subemployment adds all these things. When we did, we found, for example, that in nonmetropolitan areas of Texas in 1970, the unemployment rate for males was the same as it was in metropolitan areas, namely 3 percent. But the subemployment rate was 18.8 percent in nonmetropolitan areas, 25.1 percent in some areas of east Texas. In metropolitan areas it was 11.8 percent. So obviously any formula which got at the concept of subemployment would allocate relatively more funds to rural areas than that allocated on the basis of unemployment. I might add that subemployment is a different concept from underemployment. Underemployment would be a bad way to allocate funds because underemployment measures how much people make relative to what they ought to be making in terms of labor market characteristics; allocations on this basis would become self-defeating because low wages may mean if one doesn't have high skills, then he's underemployed.

The second thing we agreed on was the importance of manpower programs for rural development. There was unanimous agreement that anything you tried to do in rural areas has a significant manpower component, defined as labor market information, training, relocation, public employment, pre-employment training, and supportive activities. In other words, manpower is very important in rural development. We were particularly convinced that something like the CSTE concept is important, and the Commission agreed to recommend to the 1975 Texas legislature that we place between 30 and 50 CSTE-type coordinators throughout the state of Texas, in order to try to do those things. We also agreed that Texas needs a law prohibiting discrimination in employment. We also agreed to recommend major increases in resources for the "startup training" concept.

There also was unanimous agreement on the need for better data and a better understanding of rural labor markets. One very important thing that we found was that the unemployment numbers caused you to have a very deceptive idea of what rural labor markets are like. We got at this by looking at South Texas and the Rio Grande Valley. This is supposed to be a labor surplus area. Yet there are major labor shortages in low-wage, unskilled type occupations, as well as in those requiring more skill. This is because labor markets are not homogeneous. Labor markets are segmented, so averages do not provide a very good picture of the looseness or tightness of a labor market. We have found it very important to examine relationships between, say, the citrus labor market and the vegetable labor market, as well as the relationship between the citrus and other labor markets within the migrant stream. Only by doing that can one understand the answer to the question of what to do to get a steady supply of labor for grapefruit picking. It doesn't do you any good to say well, the market is with 8 percent or 10 percent unemployment, if the unemployed won't pick grapefruit. One has to determine why they won't pick grapefruit.

The reason for our agreement on extending all protective legislation--except collective bargaining--to agricultural workers was that it finally became very clear that rural areas were not going to be able to develop as long as the most productive people continue to leave. Our statistics made that abundantly clear. We have a rising dependency ratio in rural Texas. People in the prime working age groups are leaving. If you don't have protective legislation like unemployment insurance when people get unemployed, their only options are to leave or use up their savings which are very limited savings. Far from *restricting* labor supplies, protective legislation makes it possible to *develop* labor supply.

Let me conclude by saying that it's obviously premature to say that our research had any influence on this. We must wait and see what the legislature does. But I'm mildly optimistic that we can get the legislature to agree to most of these things. Basically what we've tried to do in every case is to couch the recommendations in terms of things that were important to the people who make the decisions. This, together with credibility and thorough documentation, seems to me to be necessary (but probably not sufficient) to gain state support for rural development plans.

DISCUSSION OF SESSION IV

Varden Fuller

First, I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Hunter for fresh reality in the political sphere of what we've been talking about. I think particularly important among the things that he said was the emphasis on commitment before delivery systems. This is what I've been trying to say for a long time, much less effectively than Mr. Hunter did. I think we've got this situation inverted. We're trying to run a delivery system without sufficient commitment. The question I would have to put to him is what would be the process of commitment at the state government level. Where does the beginning have to come? You mentioned with respect to your unified delivery service, social service that came from metropolitan on behalf of rural. Is this where the genesis of all commitment has to come from, from metropolitan areas, or is there any possibility as you see it of having enough political muscle developing out of nonmetropolitan to perhaps any kind of a collective service expression of needs from that source?

Edward Hunter

I suppose I will undoubtedly not endear myself to those who are responsible for arranging this conference, but I've not been overly impressed in the past decade with this division of the problem into rural, nonrural, metropolitan, nonmetropolitan, young-old, handicapped, not handicapped, veterans, nonveterans. Some of you may know that I did work for some time witn the Minnesota Department of Employment Security and I think more than anything else the categories led me to leave. I was failing. I couldn't keep up with all the categories anymore. I have a feeling that the original intent of that approach to the problem was one of insuring that the delivery system was uniquely designed to meet unique problems. I think that's certainly legitimate. But I think it led to a system of competition so that in effect competing systems have evolved such that we begin to talk about the needs of the rural areas versus the metropolitan areas, and these are seen as competitive. I wish I were enough of an economist to give you a better analogy here. But if we can talk about a pie being fixed such that if I get a bigger slice, then you necessarily get a smaller slice. I think that's the system we're in now, whereas if we could envision, that as a result of all of our efforts, we could expand the pie such that we all get bigger shares, that's a much more productive approach. And that's what I am arguing. That is, we cannot afford this kind of approach to decision-making. We need to do much more about this, to meet the manpower needs of rural areas. What we need to say then is that we need as a state or as local governments, to meet manpower needs, to meet the needs of the unemployed, wherever they may be and to get that on the agenda. You really cannot fault state legislators for this at all. It's never been brought to them. And most of you are well aware of the historical development of Employment Security and Employment Services in this country which has led essentially to a federal kind of program. I'm not so sure that the analogy holds for manpower programs, however. There are no inherent barriers to the development of strong manpower programs at the state level, except to say, of course, that they tend to be expensive programs. Even that doesn't hold. In 1971, the Minnesota legislature enacted a school reform package, which if I remember correctly, involved almost 400 million dollars of new monies, additional taxes, on a total budget base of maybe 2 1/2 billion dollars. So you can see what an immense additional commitment was made to reform financing of elementary and secondary education. Is it too unreasonable to expect a 10 million dollar appropriation for manpower development and training? I think not. But nobody has ever asked them to do that. Who asks? Who is it who is in charge of asking that question? Is it the Department of Employment Security? Are manpower services now going to move on to Employment Services? Is it them? Is it state manpower counselors? Whose job is it to ask?

Louis Levine

It seems to me you may be quite right about faulting the federal preemption in the manpower area and maybe accounting for a lot of this categorizing and specializing and disintegrating programs. I don't think I would agree with you that it's really federal that lies here, but the question of whether the state ever was aware that metropolitan urbanization was developing the way it was when the state legislature was essentially oriented toward rural problems. Manpower is essentially in our society recognized as urban, not rural. Its highest ability is urban. The legislature has no interest in that. It wouldn't put up a penny for it. If the Minnesota Department of Employment Security looked to the state legislature for money, it would close its doors tomorrow, even today. In 1935, it was a certainty; it would never have been born, you see. Now that reality still goes on. The governor will wake up and the state legislature too when the mayor of Minneapolis wakes up with the energy crisis and does something on manpower. And that's going to happen in many localities all over the country I forecast in the next few months. Now that may be the approach with the push. Whether that's going to help rural areas still remains a question. And I'm inclined to agree with you that this business of talking rural-urban and looking for these nice lines is looking for a never, never land in our society.

Ray Marshall

I agree with that, that you cannot make a fine distinction, but I think it's important to use the term rural nevertheless. And the reason for that is because of the power arrangement; that is to say that in the natural process of allocating the funds, there are areas in the country which will not receive funds unless you can build as much support for them as you possibly can. And what we would loosely call rural and non-metropolitan tends to be the area that gets left out. And it seems to me that an important reason to define that and emphasize it is to try to see to it that services do get extended in those areas. Almost all of the success criteria that we use for the allocation of funds discriminate against rural areas. Benefit-cost, unemployment, whatever, even the political test, because the power structure in rural areas is not interested in manpower, employment and human resource development. So if we don't keep some visibility about the definition or whatever, it seems to me that it would be neglected.

Edward Hunter

I once argued that because it wouldn't be expedient to do it any other way in Minnesota. I think this is typical of other midwestern states that over the last eight or nine years there has been a strong interest in rural development. A previous governor liked the term "rural renaissance." And my contention was that if he did have some data, facts on it, what rural areas got mostly was more than their fair share of the rhetoric but a good deal less of their fair share of the funding. And we're all quite familiar with the components, the federal grant-in-aid formulas, which do emphasize certain need criteria. We tend to emphasize urban areas, but we were looking at simply the larger state programs. Although we are concerned about rural development and about rural renaissance and the particular needs of rural areas, that commitment is not there when the time comes to sign at the bottom of the page. What I'm arguing is that the commitment isn't there in some areas generally. And it's peculiar. As I think about all of the functions that state and local governments are responsible for, manpower finds itself in a class all by itself, that it is totally neglected.

Many of you are familiar that over the last eight or nine years, governors have been collectively arguing, with limited success, that the problems, the social issues, should be turned over to the states. In some cases, they've been much more successful, but in manpower not at all. Those of you who are watching the legislation now pending will see, I think, that it's really much more likely to be turned over to local government. But in effect they've argued that states should be in charge of the delivery system. They would still like to have the federal monies, but they want to be in charge. I used to go to National Governors' Conferences regularly, but I never once heard any discussions about greater state involvement in the programs and organizations of the Department of Labor, Employment Security, etc. They don't want it. And I think you're right. I think they don't want that because they'd have to pay that price.

Louis Levine

Did you ever go to mayors' meetings?

Edward Hunter

I think the mayors have been much more interested in this. But here's a case where the governors want to have the programs turned over to them, except manpower. Now why is that? What is it that's so uniquely abhorrent about manpower, except to think that financing of existing Employment Services, Employment Security system, is a very substantial one. And I think they're worried that if they've got the responsibilities, they've got to pick up the tab.

David Duncan

As I look at the agenda and look at the relationship of the three topics that we'll be talking about this morning, there is an interrelationship that may result in discussions of all three of the speakers, and I think it might be appropriate for us to move on in our agenda at this time. A couple of points that I would like to leave with you. Is there anyone here from Arizona? Is there anyone here from Utah? Is there anyone here from South Dakota? The reason that I asked those three questions is that the three barriers that Mr. Hunter commented on in his presentation dealt with apathy of the executive and the legislative branch as it relates to manpower concerns. The problem of layering from a jurisdictional standpoint within a state, the importance of the utilization and new communication techniques as they relate to manpower service delivery, and fourth, the implied and justified criticism that those people who report to be proponents of a manpower service delivery system do not function effectively within the political arena. The reason I mentioned Arizona is that they are presently operating a one-stop shopping center social service delivery approach. At least they are attempting to develop it. And you may be interested in discussing a little bit about that later. Utah is a state in which the governor did take a position and pass manpower legislation which insures that manpower money is coming into the state, be they from vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, into the Employment Service, etc., distribution based on the recommendations of a highly structured manpower planning council. The state of South Dakota just reorganized its Department of Labor in establishing a manpower affairs department. And the governor has committed the Employment Security arm to be the manpower service delivery agency for that state. Whether we like it or not, Employment Security does have offices scattered throughout the state to provide the service.

Varden Fuller

Ray Marshall, you mentioned that you were referring to something about broadening the interest group that political scientists usually call decreased pluralism. What do you do and how did you proceed?

Ray Marshall

There are several things we try and do, and a good bit of that is hard. But one thing in rural areas we're trying to do is encourage growth of cooperatives among low-income farmers. We've got a representative from the Federation of Southern Coops here, Mr. Louis Black, for example. And Louis can tell you what effect the coops have had in rural Alabama, particularly where he operates, in terms of improving the economic conditions of people and gaining some political influence and acting as a spokesman for people in rural areas. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives have about 25,000 people in the southern part of the state and there are over 100 of those coops, 125 now, which is not an insignificant kind of movement. But I think the important thing in terms of getting support from people outside rural areas is you really have to be a very powerful influence to become a spokesman. You look at what, say, somebody like A. Phillip Randolph, who never had more than 6,000 dues-paying members in his life, was able to do through time in the labor movement. I'm convinced that relatively weak organizations economically can still have some impact, I don't know how much it is. They can do a great deal to gain public attention to problems as well as provide an economic base from which people can get political independence. A lot of Louis' members got involved in the coops because they got kicked off the plantation for registering to vote. That didn't do you any good to be able to register to vote if you lost you job when you did it so political rights meant very little. Well, we've got situations like that in a lot of places. A second organization that you can encourage is a community development corporation, and there are a number of those that are underway and I think can have some significant influence.

Varden Fuller

What agency? What kind of aegis or agency on a community development plan?

Ray Marshall

Where do you get the money? The community development corporations, some were funded in part by OEO, some by foundations of various kinds, wherever you can find support for them. And the Ford Foundation has now one of its main thrusts to encourage the growth in community development corporations. They got some money from the Ford Foundation, from other foundations, and wherever you can do it on a project by project basis, from anybody who's funding whatever they think their activity happens to be. I think it's really not too important what you call it. Another very important thing that you have to enforce in the rural South is the voter education project and the building of political power, political strength. But you couldn't do them both. I think they came together. If you hadn't had the economic independence, it would have been very difficult to build a political movement. Now they're not going to revolutionize the South in a short time. But I'll tell you what they have done in Alabama and in a number of other places. They started causing the power structure to take a different attitude about things. Even fellows like George Wallace are now taking quite a different attitude. He tried to beat the whole thing when it first started. Sargent Shriver had to override the veto of the entire Alabama delegation to get one of the main coops funded. But now you get white politicians who are coming out and making speeches and talking about what a good thing the coops are doing, which is an unusual development. So I think all of that, building some political influence, creating economic organizations, educational organizations, of whatever you can get built so that there will be somebody who speaks for the rural poor.

Gerald Somers

Did you get the union's political support for your proposal and if so, does that help or doesn't it?

Ray Marshall

I think we have some problem with unions supporting most of the things we're doing. Unions are suspicious about some parts of it. And they're particularly suspicious, and I think with good reason, about the whole startup training idea. They're worried about the model that a lot of people use in South Carolina where they're supposed to have the most effective of these startup training programs. We have underway studies to evaluate the South Carolina project along with North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, and about 19 other states. And part of what they're afraid of is that several things will happen. One is that this will be used as a way to attract sweat shops, that attract run-away industry from other parts of the country and unions are not interested in that. Also most of these industrial developers tend to have a strong anti-union bias in their activities because they believe, rightly or wrongly, that taking an anti-union stance is an important way to attract industry. And that makes them suspicious. But there was no opposition to them. And I think by the time it comes if you can build in safeguards to see it doesn't become an anti-union type operation, there won't be any major opposition from unions.

We get a fair amount of support in Texas from urban areas. Somebody has already mentioned that. And all over the state for rural things. We do it partly because people can see that many urban problems are made in rural areas. Secondly, people are concerned about the conditions of rural areas. Since 1940, Texas has been transformed from a rural state to mainly an urban state, but there is nevertheless a considerable residual political power among rural groups. Then we add to that the environmentalists who have been interested in all this. The problem has been bringing all that together in any kind of effective way to cause commitment. As Mr. Hunter was saying at the beginning today, everybody will say that and when you get right down to the time to put your name on the dotted line, other interests are more important. So what we have to do constantly is see that when the time comes these kinds of considerations are very high. I don't know whether they will be or not. I think there is a great deal of support in Texas for the manpower concept as outlined in the larger sense, let's say as it relates to industrial development and all these other things.

Louis Levine

Don't you find some problems between general intellectual support for the larger abstract concept and the specific legislation; hence with relatively minor changes in the unemployment compensation law in Texas right now associated contractors won't let you get to first base? This administration is trying to get agricultural coverage and has backed off. Now with the energy crisis they may decide to make a move on it again. But you can be sure that Texas industry, including agriculture or the others, will not. And that's a small little segment of the statutes on the books. I'm so afraid that studies come out and you can get general support in that dual sense so to speak.

Ray Marshall

That's the reason we jumped at the opportunity to work with the Texas Rural Development Commission because it is made up of the people who have significant influence in the Texas legislature. But I'm afraid that by 1975 when the next legislature meets, there are going to be too many things that seem to be so much more important than what we're talking about now, like staying warm, and getting stuff cooked, and how you're going to get a job. Moreover, our agricultural production has become heavily dependent on this energy and the use of all kinds of other things that are in short supply. It is pretty clear that farmers are the people who are going to suffer most from any kind of system they use to allocate the fuel. The people who are going to suffer most in general are going to be the poor people. Whatever the system, the big farmers are going to find a way to get it, if history is any judge of the future. And those things are likely to be very serious problems by 1975. I hope not. But I'm afraid they will be, and you will be right; we won't get much support for most of this. But my view about all this is that you've got to take the first step. You've got to do whatever you can and hope that if you study the situation carefully enough, what you did was effective in trying to get the support.

Eugene Griessman

One of the comments that you made I think has very serious implications, in connection with Concerted Services particularly in Texas. The Commission has recommended that 30-50 such units be established in Texas. Now it seems to me that this may put some of these older persons who have long been associated with Concerted Services in the role of teacher or apprentice kinds of relationships, and if that be true, then either Texas and/or at the federal end there be some money set aside for getting these persons together, some of these coordinators who have been doing their job for eight years. I think it would be a shame for their expertise that they have acquired to go unused.

Ray Marshall

I think that's true. We plan to do that. We plan to establish this not just for CSTE but for manpower training and for state municipal and local people. We're already underway with it as a matter of fact. But they're working with the Texas Municipal League in trying to do that. We just had one session that was apparently a fairly effective one for people at the municipal level. I think there is general recognition that all these things which are coming to the states are coming at a time when the states really aren't prepared to handle them. One of the things that we need to do is try to have training programs to see what you can do to exchange ideas and get people ready for it.

Millard Blakey

I am Millard Blakey from the Georgia Rural Development Center. I'd like to continue with what Gene has suggested by trying to integrate some of the things that you've learned and the things that we've heard about at this conference and elsewhere and some of the things that Bob was saying. I'll put it in the form of a question. Bob has talked in terms of this gap in rural areas, about AMPB's and the balance of state, in which we need some technical expertise. I believe you put it in terms of needing a different sort of animal. You were talking in the context of the regional level, but I would suggest to you the same thing might apply out in remote areas. Do you not see the possibilities here of a marriage of such things as Concerted Services experience that we've had, the ACE, the Hitchhike, other sorts of integrative approaches we have had experience with? It would fill that vacuum, at least partially fill the vacuum, in remote areas making a viable entity of the AMPB's consist of everything from private citizens through agency personnel in order to deliver this program, this plan.

Ray Marshall

We do. And that was another one of the recommendations accepted: that we look very carefully at all these experimental programs and choose ones that seem to be most effective in Texas, but to have it coordinated by somebody. That was the reason the CSTE idea was given. The CSTE part of it would simply be the coordinating part. The question we had organizationally was who should be responsible for this? What entity of government should be responsible for the oversight or whatever else of the coordinators? Our view was that it ought to be in the governor's office at the state level and therefore give flexibility with respect to the local units of government; but nevertheless we need to work with them, to get all the rest of these things. What we found in Texas I think is that whenever you get a COG, a Council of Government, a few of the major Councils of Government tend to dominate it, I mean major governmental entities tend to dominate it, and they make the decision about where to spend the money just like they always do, and the rural areas get left out of that. That means that if the rural areas would be looked out for, somebody beyond the local mayors of the major cities would have to have responsibility for them. But I think you're right. We see a great deal of advantage in the Operation Mainstream type program as well as in the Neighborhood Youth Corps type program. And we've in fact recommended that they be merged as a Neighborhood Youth Corps type program, really be brought together as a Public Employment Program and that be purely aside from whatever they might do with something like PEP, because in many of the areas the only effective program found was Mainstream. It was the only thing that you could do almost anywhere. And rural areas would still have pretty effective control.

Varden Fuller

Could we hear Bob's reaction?

Bob Hunter

Since the answer was sufficiently long and I was listening to it, I forgot exactly what the question was.

Millard Blakey

In effect, I was proposing that we take a close look at what we know now in the absence of a theory but based on experience and applied research and start building a theory and convert the theory to practice. In your model where would we utilize people to do this sort of thing and the expertise we already know is available.

Bob Hunter

Yes, I don't think that theory formulation or theory building is going to be all that difficult because we do have so much empirical experience. One thing referred to at this meeting and virtually all the others is that each of these efforts has worked. I'm always a little nervous when one of these efforts works because you may get a Hawthorne effect: the reason it's working is because there is so much spirit and morale associated i.e., we're going to make it work. Then we try to generalize at the same level but the spirit and morale isn't present in the rest of the delivery system. I think part of the reason you don't generate spirit and morale is people don't understand the reasons why this will work if they do it. I think that's why the theory building must be done. A lot has been done, but it hasn't been put to the empirical test. There is an awful lot of work in comprehensive health planning, in terms of coordinating systems and developmental systems and what it means to apply theory. There has been a lot done at Johns Hopkins in that particular arena, a lot done in some of the schools. Moving in this direction isn't going to be too much to put together if you can really get rationales so people can grab hold of it and move with it. The problem, however, which still is with us, is how to allocate those resources. I was talking to Dave Duncan about this. We wondered about the question of the subemployment concept in the model, and in manpower revenue sharing. It isn't present there so far as I can gather. How about an allocation within the state on the same basic formula as the allocation to the state?

Ray Marshall

That's what we were really arguing for.

Bob Hunter

And that might be the way we could get our rural areas to get their fair share. I'm also troubled about the continual comments about Public Employment in which they said it really didn't help the people who most needed it. My perspective on Public Employment is that it might get into local governments and planners down at multi-jurisdictional planning units and so on and so forth. For that I want persons who could plan, and demonstrate to them the need they have for such a person. Then maybe you could persuade them to come up with their own funds or persuade governors to allocate manpower revenue sharing to continue to support those kinds of people. We've had enough experience with various kinds of internships, economic internships, in rural areas. Western States Commission for Higher Administration under EDA has been running such a program for a good number of years. Inevitably, after they have had a person, frequently just someone with a senior economics or business major, working with them in some kind of a planning operation where they have never had someone before, they hired the kid. He never gets back to school.

Ray Marshall

We've done that as conscious strategy to place people, to get students and get them placed.

Bob Hunter

It has two functions. One almost inevitably opens the door so the kid will get a job because he's got the experience. But it's a demonstration to these people that they need this. A year ago in parts of Utah we surveyed the opinions of local county commissioners and municipalities about their need for manpower planners. Everyone of them said we need them. And it was a surprise to us because we thought we would get some negative feelings. Now, as Dave can tell you, Utah is a little ahead of many states in terms of manpower. But I think it wouldn't take too much imagination to generate both the need and the kinds of people to provide the kinds of service. So yes, link them together, build the theory, and put people out there and start demonstrating.

David Duncan

I'm afraid we're going to have to cut off the questions now. There is one observation I'd like to leave with you. Possibly in the wrapup Lou might expand on Bob and Ray's issue of the conceptual model or theory development process. You apparently are focusing by and large on the development of a service delivery system that relates to delivering human services to people that need them. Any consideration of such a model in my judgment would also have to include some indepth discussion of the way political decision-making occurs, how the political process functions. From my observation at the federal, regional, state, and local levels, there is an inordinate amount of ignorance about the way political decisions are made. And if we are going to influence delivery of social services, we will have to become very, very familiar with the structural organization within the political process and the power clusters that determine what's done and when. I'd like to thank both of the speakers who are here along with Mr. Hunter. It's been a pleasure for me to be here with you.

MANPOWER DELIVERY SYSTEMS AND EQUITY FOR SPECIAL GROUPS IN RURAL AMERICA

Daniel H. Kruger
Michigan State University

The need for manpower services in rural areas grows out of the evolution of the job economy. The job has become the most important economic activity in the lives of most Americans. Ninety percent of the nation's labor force are employees. They earn their income to underwrite a particular style of living through having a job.

The number of farmers and farm workers has steadily declined in the last 40 years. Workers in rural areas are primarily employees or jobseekers. They, like their counterparts in urban areas, need jobs. Rural workers have indeed been "left behind." Farm jobs have been eliminated through technology. Employment opportunities in rural areas are not concentrated in a given locality; they are scattered over a wide geographical area. Moreover, the range of jobs in rural America is circumscribed by the types of available jobs. Not only is there a lack of jobs, existing jobs usually pay low wages relative to jobs in urban areas. The distance a worker in rural areas is willing to travel to a job is directly related to the level of wages of the job.

Manpower problems in rural areas are affected by many factors including neglect, apathy, and diverse effects of federal and state policies. These areas have not received their fair share of available resources. Their problems do not receive the attention or the headlines which manpower problems in urban areas receive. Rural areas lack political clout. Votes are in urban areas. Moreover, federal manpower programs and their administrators are urban-oriented. Political pressure has literally forced program administrators to serve urban workers.

Another reason why rural America does not receive its fair share of manpower resources may be attributed to cost-benefit analyses. Congress and program administrators want the most for the dollar. Distance and population make it more difficult to deliver effectively manpower services in rural areas. Maintenance of offices and staff requires dollars which are scarce. Decisions, therefore, are made on the basis of where dollars can do most.

Policies of both federal and state governments have discriminated against rural America. These policies have had and are having adverse consequences for rural America. They have resulted in denial of equal opportunity to rural residents. For this group, there is no equality of opportunity for good education and training and adequate health and social services. Not only is there no equality of opportunity, there is no equality of access to these services. Rural America is the "other America."

Rural America is the victim of economic efficiency. Federal support increased productivity on farms. However, the federal government gave little attention to problems of rural workers dislocated from farms and rural areas to search for employment. The emphasis of federal government on economic efficiency has created depressed areas in rural America and ghettos in urban areas. The displaced rural worker in many instances went to the urban area in search of employment, ill-prepared and ill-equipped to compete in the labor market. They concentrated in small geographical areas of cities; they established a "beachhead" and over time expanded into what is now called the ghetto or inner-city.

There is a strong relationship between national manpower problems and manpower problems in rural areas. Manpower problems in rural America are not something separate and apart from national manpower problems. What happens in rural America affects the magnitude of the nation's manpower problems and what happens on the national scene or international scene affects rural America.

There are both economic and social reasons for expansion of manpower services to rural America. By manpower services, I am referring not only to counseling, guidance, placement, and labor market information but also to job creation activities. The purpose of manpower services is to improve the employability of the individual, to enable him or her to compete more realistically in the job market. A job has become a valuable piece of property because of economic benefits which accrue to the jobholder. These include income, access to unemployment insurance and social security as well as health and life insurance fringe benefits. Availability of jobs and job creation activities minimizes dependency upon welfare. Putting persons into employment increases the economic efficiency of the nation.

Putting persons into employment also improves the social efficiency of the nation. What is meant by social efficiency? Social efficiency is measured by the progress society makes in including the excluded individuals into jobs. It means a lower unemployment rate; it means good paying jobs which in turn minimize underemployment. Social efficiency improves social status. It contributes to the mental well-being of the individual. Society can ill afford to commit large numbers of its members to the human scrap heap. Committing human resources to the human scrap heap symbolizes that these individuals are unwanted or ill-prepared to make a constructive contribution to society.

In the past, the nation focused primarily on improving its economic efficiency, i.e., maximizing output per unit of input. Economic efficiency is not the sole criterion against which to evaluate performance of a society or institutions be they public or private. American society increasingly is requiring institutions to become more socially efficient.

Perhaps, the first effort of the nation to become socially efficient was the enactment of the workmen's compensation laws by Wisconsin in 1911. This legislation required employers to pay a penalty if workers became injured or died accidentally in job-related situations. The Occupational Safety and Health Act reinforced this concern. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 provided for a minimum wage for firms involved in interstate commerce. The Civil Rights legislation mandated that employers could not discriminate in employment because of race, color, creed, sex, or age. The Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 placed restrictions on manufacturing firms in polluting the rivers and streams and the Clean Air Act of 1970 placed restrictions on polluting the air. It is safe to predict that society will become even more concerned with social efficiency.

These enactments have become part and parcel of the nation's social goals. Perhaps, these goals are not clearly defined but the legislation does indicate a growing concern on the part of society. Many firms, organizations, and agencies are now required to meet or strive toward social goals established by society. The nation has learned the bitter lesson that improving economic efficiency at the expense of social efficiency has increased both economic and social costs. Social efficiency does affect economic efficiency. Let me pose, for example, one question. Has the economic efficiency of the nation been enhanced by the social inefficiency of forcing countless Americans to migrate from rural areas to urban areas, search for a job, and consequently being forced to live in squalid conditions in urban America? Ghettos of American cities have produced a complex set of problems which the nation is trying to resolve.

The issue is not economic efficiency at the expense of social efficiency. It is not an either/or situation. There must be a balance between economic efficiency and social efficiency; it must be an integrated combination of both. Moreover, one can make the argument that as the nation improves its social efficiency, economic efficiency will be improved even more.

To improve both economic and social efficiency in rural areas, manpower services must be provided to the excluded. Who are the excluded? They include minorities, women, and poor whites. Broadly speaking, the excluded are those barred from active participation in the world of work because of race, color, sex, age, poor education, lack of salable skills, and artificial and unrealistic hiring requirements of both private and public employers.

The composition of the excluded workers dramatically underscores the nonhomogeneity of rural workers. They are a composite of young workers wanting to enter the labor market; they are older Americans; they are blacks, Spanish-speaking. They are migrants; they are poor; they are near poor; they are women who must work because of economic necessity in order to provide income to meet family needs. This heterogeneity of rural workers must be taken into account in developing effective strategies for expanding manpower services to rural areas.

Not only are the rural workers heterogeneous, they do not all require the same kind of manpower services. Those in need of manpower services can be classified into three groups. One group is "job ready." They need information as to where jobs are. Job and labor market information is most inadequate in rural areas. Though imperfect, such information is available in urban areas. It is ironic that the nation does a better job of mapping timber resources and mineral deposits and estimating crops than it does in charting and analyzing its manpower resources in rural areas.

The second group needs some manpower services such as counseling or guidance or day care or transportation. They are in need of a particular service which would enhance their employability. The third group of rural workers needs the total array of manpower services available through federally supported manpower programs.

Since the need for manpower services by these three broad groups of workers varies, it is, therefore, important to assess what kinds of services are required in a given geographical area. The Public Employment Service could indeed play an important role as an assessment center, if staff resources were made available. This could be a significant "first step" in the expansion of manpower services to rural areas. Identification of need in the "universe of need" is a prerequisite for establishing the total array of manpower services. Establishing assessment centers in rural areas would pinpoint the kinds of services needed to enhance and improve employability of rural workers.

Manpower services are provided through a manpower service delivery system. A service delivery system is defined as that combination of activities, organizational structures, personnel employed by agencies involved, facilities, equipment, available funds, statutes, customs and attitudes which comprise a community's efforts to enable persons to receive meaningful employment with a reasonable chance of their being retained.

This definition of a "system" is quite different from one normally used to define a system and it does not act as a system in the normal usage of that word. A system is usually defined as a formal arrangement united by some form of regular interaction and interdependence. Components of a system are interrelated, e.g., the nervous system, the electrical system. Obviously, manpower service delivery system does not operate like a formal system.

The manpower service delivery system, as I have defined it, involves units directly or indirectly, formally and informally, in providing some kind of manpower service which will improve the individual's employability in order to obtain a job. Some units are established by laws; others are established because the community felt a need; others developed because of the interest of a group of citizens or even a select number of individuals in the community. For example, a manpower service delivery system in a rural area includes the Public Employment Service, vocational rehabilitation, the welfare department, educational and training institutions, Cooperative Extension, church groups, to mention a few. This kind of manpower service delivery system is by its very nature pluralistic and variegated. It is there and operative. It may not be operating as effectively as it should.

It is doubtful if it can be fully integrated into a formal system. This should not be a deterrent to making the system operate more effectively. It is possible to increase effectiveness of the system through informal and formal linkages between agencies delivering services. Collaboration and cooperation among units in the system can help improve effectiveness, but that is not the whole story.

To be effective the delivery system must be utilized by those who are in need of some or all manpower services which units or agencies provide. For a unit to be utilized, it must have credibility with the user or client. The user or client must feel and perceive that the unit renders a service which will be helpful or will facilitate, in some manner, the employment process. The critical test is that a unit or sub-unit of the system is providing a service that produces a tangible result for the individual user. In almost every instance, the "effectiveness" of the service is related to finding a job or providing training which will help the individual get a job. It may be related to helping the individual understand his strengths and weaknesses which, in turn, can be helpful in his or her job search. The unit in the system is thus evaluated by each individual user. This is as it should be since the deliverers of services are providing a highly personalized service for that individual.

For an agency to be effective, its personnel must be responsive to and empathetic with the client. The objective or mission of an agency is to provide a manpower service for a given individual which will enhance that individual's employability. The agency is "in business" to serve the client in an effective manner. The agency, it must be emphasized, does not exist just to provide jobs for the staff or to prepare reports which are mailed to some central office.

There is a growing public concern about performance of public agencies. This concern has been identified as accountability. Taxpayers want to know what is happening to their tax dollars in terms of results achieved. Public manpower agencies are going to have to demonstrate that by their existence *they do make a difference in helping an individual improve his or her employability and job search.*

In expanding and improving manpower services, the nation is applying what I call social intervention in human resource development and utilization. By social intervention, I mean government or government-sponsored activities and services designed to alter, modify, or change the employability of the individual or to change the labor market situation itself to the end objective of improving development, maintenance, and utilization of human resources. Under the concept of social intervention, services provided must improve employability of the individual which, in turn, will enable him to compete more realistically in the labor market. Services provided are those which help individuals to prepare for, find, retain, and upgrade their employment. Services can also take the form of altering, modifying, or changing the labor market situation -- through more effective functioning of the labor market, through better labor market information for better rational decision-making, and through better trained social intervenors.

The social intervenor, by definition, intercedes to make a difference either for the individual or in the labor market situation. The acid test for the social intervenor is: does his intercession or his institution's intercession make a difference in improving the employability of the individual or getting the individual a job. Labor market intermediaries such as the Employment Service, Vocational Rehabilitation Service, WIN teams, Operation Hitchhike programs, Employment Programs for Welfare Departments, Placement Services of high schools and community colleges are social intervenors.

Social intervenors operate in the labor market, that socioeconomic mechanism for allocation of manpower resources in a given area. The labor market has become the most democratic of all institutions in America in that all that is required for participation is an individual 16 years of age, willing, able, and actively seeking a job. The labor market accepts Ph.D.s and school dropouts, whites, blacks, Chicanos, Indians, male, female, young and older workers, able and disabled and all others who are seeking a job. Participation in the labor market, however, is no guarantee for finding or obtaining a job. It is a precondition for searching for a job. In the labor market workers seek jobs and employers seek workers.

Provision of more effective manpower services to both rural and urban Americans requires all principal actors in the labor market to interact and interrelate with each other. Reference has been made to three of the principal actors -- the individual job-seeker, employers, and labor market intermediaries. In urban areas, unions, especially building trades, are important actors.

Educational and training institutions are important actors in that they are the primary suppliers of manpower to the labor market. Whether the individual graduates or drops out of an educational institution, eventually he or she will in all probability enter the labor market. Periodically, educational institutions produce what might be called "crops of graduates," some on an annual basis, others quarterly. Whether jobs are available or not, they enter the labor market in search of employment. All too frequently these "products" have little or no understanding of the dynamics of the job market. Frequently, their job search is haphazard. A significant improvement in the operation of the labor market could be achieved by improving vocational counseling and guidance in schools located in rural areas. New entrants into the labor market would at least have information about themselves and the world of work which would assist them in making a more rational employment decision.

A critically important actor in shaping conditions in the labor market is government -- both federal and state. Federal government formulates monetary and fiscal policies which affect the level of economic activities. It appropriates dollars for manpower services and develops guidelines under which these funds are expended. State governments operate the most important labor market intermediaries and appropriate funds for all levels of education including vocational education. Moreover, it is the responsibility of government to heighten awareness and sensitivity of the nation to the importance of manpower development and its utilization.

In the final analysis, it will be federal and state governments which will determine the quality and quantity of manpower services to be delivered to rural America. Those at this conference must, therefore, become advocators in legislative halls for more manpower services to rural areas. Moreover, attendees can lend their talents, skills, and knowledge in helping existing deliverers of manpower services become more effective in their operations.

DISCUSSION

Jim Booth

You indicated just now that governors have done something. Ed Hunter this morning said that manpower really didn't fit into their priorities.

Dan Kruger

I had breakfast with Ed Hunter this morning and we talked about that point. I didn't want to pursue this, but I'm sure that Governor Anderson of Minnesota is far more aware of manpower than the governor of Minnesota, whoever he was, 10 years ago. There isn't any question about that. Now there are other considerations that governors have. I wouldn't say that manpower is at the top of the list. But I know from my personal association with my governor, at least he knows what the words mean. And that's nothing to sneeze at. We have so many other problems like the energy crisis, how to finance the cost of welfare, higher education, and a few other matters that the governor is largely concerned about. I've been trying to point out to him that even support of higher education has a manpower dimension, a very important one.

Jim Booth

That takes in what Ray said this morning. I've been trying to devise a strategy for showing the fact that manpower is a part of basically everything we do in terms of policy. I'm wondering, what you could recommend to help me be more strategic?

Dan Kruger

I agree with Ray Marshall. If the first half of Ray's talk was on research, the first part of his talk was really a lesson. The University of Wisconsin in the days of John R. Commons was filled with the whole notion of extending resources of the University to help solve some of the problems of the state. Let me digress, I think one of the reasons we're in trouble at universities is that we haven't got that lesson, Ray. Our supporters really don't know who we are. And really what Ray Marshall was saying at the beginning of his talk would actually be true The universities have to relate to the legislature and to the governor and to anybody else out there. But the point is that there are six or seven groups in our state to solve the same sort of problem. So I said to the governor's assistant, why don't you bring all these people together. So we brought the Agricultural Commission together, the A Labor Commission together, the Governor's Commission on Services to Rural Areas, or whatever it's called, Cooperative Extension, Experiment Station. And mind you, this is the first time all these people were in the same room together, to talk about what kinds of manpower problems we are having in Michigan agriculture. Those of you who are not familiar with my state may think of automobiles when you think of Michigan, but the second largest industry in our state is agriculture. It's an important agricultural state. One of the things that came out of this joint meeting is that we finally persuaded the governor to give a message in January on the state of agriculture. Now that may sound rather strange, but he never talked about agriculture because nobody asked him to talk about it. He said that is a good idea. With a lot of people involved in agriculture in our state it makes a lot of sense for the governor to talk about the state of agriculture and some of the problems that we have. We can tell you all about the problems of automobiles, but for the first time in his seven years as governor he is going to give a special message on agriculture. I don't think Governor Romney did that while he was governor. So the point I am making, Jim, is that one of our jobs as academicians is that we do have access to the State House and we do have access to the Governor if we have the degree of humility about which Ray spoke. And I said this to someone and I want to say this publicly. You know, Lou, when you were Director of Employment Service, and I don't know if Ray and Jerry were around then, the idea of bringing together the academicians, was in, I guess, the early 60s or the late 50s, I don't really remember when. You know, that was a tremendous experience because it gave, I can only speak for myself, it gave me insight into some of the operational qualities of running the Employment Service. But you know, I wish we could sort of rekindle that idea of having some of the dialogue between the practitioners and the theoreticians. I think a lot of good came out of those sessions.

Varden Fuller

I would like to be your momentary counterpart of regularly attended session outlooks conference in San Francisco. Any time you have developed a lull in your discussion, this man who is an African and a follower of Henry George's involvement. If nothing else is going on, he said I will make a little speech on sales tax. I am not going to make much of a speech but I would like to put a little background on this kind of a question. And I would like to see it discussed a little bit. And it came up this morning. It involved one of Ray Marshall's discussions. This is the kind of a hypothesis that I would lay under it. I think one of our very significant questions in this society and the way we go about doing things is related to the imbalance or the perfection or imperfection or what the political scientists call the shortfall of pluralism in the organization and articulation of interest groups or people who should be interest groups. Well, that is number one that the proposition there, it seems to me, is that it doesn't make too much difference what structure of bureaucracy is and the allocation of burdens and responsibilities to authorities between federal, state, and local. It doesn't make, it doesn't complete the picture. We won't have the perfect society until there is a more equal balance of articulated interest groups who can have something to say about what is delivered. All right, that is one proposition, I am going to put you this one. It seems to me that the soft underbelly of the programs that we have had through the 60s has been pretty much that they relied on the initiative of local interest groups to start the programs. Nobody had any entitlement; you applied for the program. So the proposition that I would like to put out is whether, as you advance to a more clear working state of revenue sharing, is there a possibility that there can be a kind of a reciprocal and complimentary relationship between performing interest groups. And add the bureaucracy that handles money and allots the programs going even so far as perhaps to encourage the development of organization, perfect the approaches, and access and so on of those who haven't had it. And what still underlies that is that it seems possible for me to believe that if you have a revenue sharing entitlement which goes out on a formula, much as the Public Employment Program did, then people are entitled to rights in their own right, as against having to be filtered through the power structure. And we have a better society if we do interrupt revenue sharing on this count.

Dan Kruger

Bob, do you want to talk to that point for me?

Bob Hunter

I would like to, I think so. I think the answer is yes. The reason I say this is I am watching as we work in some 40 cities in the development under HEW of what we call Youth Service Systems, the way in which the advisory boards and sub-boards are being put together, Varden. What we find happening is there seems to be one major legacy left from the war on poverty that I can see and that is the awareness on the parts of blacks and chicanos and a variety of other people who never asked because they never thought they would be entitled. Now they expect to participate; they did enough management of their own programs, not always good but almost always, at least as good as what the city was doing. At least once a year they closed their books, because it was required, and I find there are very few cities in the country that can. They are now aware that the management of human service programs wasn't being done all that much better by the professionals so they want to participate. They are demanding it in urban centers. But they are also apparently starting to demand it in the South where blacks have been enfranchised and are now in public office. As I recall, there were 270 blacks in office in the South before 1964 and now there are some 2,700. It seems to me that there is this demand for participation. The problem with it, and I need economists here to help me offset a major American sociologist who is frightening to me, and that is Dan Bell at Harvard, who insists that the demands for participation make the process of pluralistic, democratic decision-making so expensive that we can't afford it anymore; it is too inefficient. And of course, Adolf Hitler I guess had a very efficient system; no one ever suggested democracy had to be efficient.

The minorities are participating; mayors have to acknowledge them, governors have to recognize them because they are there and the kinds of organizations that are growing up in the systems are building full representation from those groups. Is that an answer?

Varden Fuller

That is a very good answer. I like your answer. I hope you are right.

Dan Kruger

Does anybody else want to comment on that?

Varden Fuller

I would like to hear Ray.

Ray Marshall

Well, I hope that my view would be that you have got to have participation.

Bob Hunter

No question about that.

Ray Marshall

For efficient program a good bit depends upon what you mean by efficiency.

Dan Kruger

Social efficiency as well as economic efficiency.

Ray Marshall

You have efficient agriculture, and I say well we might.

I don't know. I haven't seen anybody count up all the costs yet. You know, we have had low grocery bills but I think there are some things we ought to add to that. Mainly, all of the people we have displaced by developing the agricultural technology out of the public treasury, the hard way in a lot of cases; it is very difficult for you to devise an effective system for somebody else. It is their input that makes it a whole lot more effective.

Dan Kruger

And salable, and salable.

Ray Marshall

Even in your own terms. You know, if you are concerned about, try to take a given amount of money and doing as much for these people as possible, it would be a lot better if the people involved had some input into what you did with that money, rather than your trying to decide, or some group trying to decide, what is most effective for them. So I think the participation is extremely important both in terms of the immediate situation and also in terms of the organization side. It has had some effect on the political processes and participation in government. It takes time though.

Dan Kruger

That's the point I want to make too. This participation is a relatively new idea. Lou, do you want to comment?

Louis Levine

I've come to a conclusion that isn't optimistic in terms of what Varden Fuller is looking for. I think that Congress should decide that the experiment of the OEO and the community agency made up of individuals who, because they were poor, knew what was good for the poor, could be entrusted to spend the money of the people can't go on. Revenue sharing is precisely the answer of putting the money into the establishment agencies of the power structure, if you want to call it that, of the governors and the mayors of the electorate.

Dan Kruger

Yes, Lou, let me comment on that. I have got news for you. As was said, in the cities I'm concerned about, you can not ignore the people who have been participating.

Louis Levine

The interesting thing of the blacks is the use of the electorate and going to government all over the United States as a means of having whites and blacks support organized government that is accountable, that keeps books, records, that can come back and explain what they did with the taxpayers' money. And that you can't escape.

Ray Marshall

Now what you've got is a lot more effective participation in the local government.

Dan Kruger

Absolutely. That is what I was going to say. I think when we talk about participation, that is important; but I think there is another aspect of that. Participation by assault is not enough. I argue that there has to be a system of negotiated transactions. Participation leads to negotiation. And the work of the world, at least in this country, is done through a system of negotiated transactions. Those of us who are in academia negotiate with our students. They may not know so, but that is true.

Eugene Griessman

We can carry this one step further. I don't know if there is any basis for optimism, but the persons in these programs are now participating in established channels. I am not the first to draw a parallel between first and second reconstruction. First black persons were trying after the Civil War and could at least get positions and get into the system so that by 1900 you have Jim Crow laws. And so I don't see this as a necessarily permanent kind of thing. I think that once these people are cooperative they may simply be lost.

Ray Marshall

I think one difference now though is that in those days the black community had no power to bring to the coalition. Today they bring a fair amount. In those days it was imposed and if you didn't have land, and if you didn't have resources, it was very difficult for you to maintain a political self. And that was the lesson. Now that you have got, it is very difficult to go through that populace thing again. And of course, the reason they got popular is because they disenfranchised the blacks. And the black population didn't have the power to prevent it.

Eugene Griessman

I would say the analogy does not hold in that respect. Another point, you have a black population dispersed through the northern centers now that you did not have before.

Dan Kruger

It is a different ball game.

Lewis Black

Well, I'll talk to a number of these things and just watch and learn. A lot of you probably heard about the Tennessee Waterway. In Alabama we have somewhere around 170 black people taking office. In Greentown, Alabama we have a whole town of black elected officials including the only black probate judge in the United States. You have a black sheriff, a black voter register and a black board of education. Over a hundred years ago, there was a feasibility study made of the Waterways.

Dan Kruger

How many years ago?

Lewis Black

Over a hundred years ago.

Dan Kruger

I thought that was sort of a new concept.

Lewis Black

By about 1986 they are supposed to have 80,000 white folks moving in the area. What they have done on the River is an indication of how they are trying to put a thing in the same sack they put it in a hundred years ago. You know, destroy our political power.

Dan Kruger

Do you think that is possible?

Lewis Black

I think that it is possible to do anything you want in America.

Dan Kruger

I am not quite sure I agree with that but go ahead.

Lewis Black

Another place where we are making a move is just on the other side of the River from Greentown. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives, and the manpower association have bought something like 1,324 acres of land, and our land is right on the River. We are working in some 14 states in the South through cooperative endeavor with about 30,000 cooperative members working for both political, economic, and social benefits to low-income people. Through the Federation we have started training heavy equipment operators so that we can make sure that black boys will be driving those caterpillars and what have you; we have done some demonstration down there with a construction company, the one that has the $18,000,000 contract out of Jamesville. We have been putting some pressure on him to make sure that he hires black people from that particular locale before he moves other folks in there. Now we are training the people to do excavation work, labor work, and the heavy equipment work so that when he says nobody is available we have people there to put on the job.

Ray Marshall

Well, then, also the Federation has organized to try to police the whole system to see to it that blacks don't get left out. I hope the chances are better this time than they were in 1890.

Bob Hunter

But it seems like the question is, fifteen years ago was that possible? And I don't think it was. I think this is the real legacy that came out of OEO, but I will make one other comment. When I give a presentation in cities showing the elements I showed this morning, minority members come up and say: we want to make sure we get representation on that advisory board. And I continually say, look, that is a bureaucratic process, that advisory board in many respects, even though it's policy-making. And in the short run, the bureaucratic processes can intervene to assure certain kinds of equity. But only in the short run as we saw in the war on poverty. In the long run, political processes cannot be reduced to administrative decision-making in a bureaucracy. It has to be at the political level. And that the real way for minorities to get their representation is to get their elected officials on the city council and the state legislature. Because without that ultimately, any kind of board that has representation of minorities will be subverted by that political process. And there is no way around this that I know.

Lewis Black

Let me say something. I am a politician too, I ran for Congress last year and lost, and will run again next year too. Anyway, let me say this. This is the thing throughout this country that black folks and white folks both never talk about. We have got to realize that in a way the Civil Rights Act is a farce. Black folks don't realize it, nor white folks. Now for instance, a person can come from any country and get the right to be a citizen, be a full fledged citizen in America, but if he is black, he cannot because they gave us a temporary right in 1965 for five years. Now in 1970, they went back and gave us another temporary five more years, you see. In the South black folks and good white folks have spent all their time putting white folks in office when they should have been putting black folks in office, so that black folks can be in a position to get their true citizenship.

Collette Moser

Thank you, Dan, for your excellent presentation and chairing the lively discussion.

SESSION V

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

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CONFERENCE FINDINGS:
IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

Louis Levine
George Washington University

We are at a stage in this conference when most of us are eager to see it concluded. I might help by just giving the benediction and wishing you all Godspeed. My conscience, however, would not permit me to do that. As a matter of fact, as evidence of how seriously I take this assignment and contrary to my usual practice, I arose early this morning and prepared a few notes. In this instance I am deeply concerned about the delivery of manpower services.

My objective is to examine the subject of delivery of manpower services in its whole context and hopefully with some perspective as to its implications for the near future. In doing so, I may have some occasion to make a few passing references to what others here have stated. As to future implications, it should be clear that I do not profess to have any inside information, and that my crystal ball has been glazed over and cracked for some time.

The opening session of this conference began in a rather typical fashion with an historical review of the subject--in this instance a discussion of public services and rural areas. Mr. Rainey made an excellent presentation. His maps and visual aids contributed importantly to a portrayal of the geographical shifts and trends of population movements from rural areas and the growth and spread of urbanization. He became concerned, however, almost at the outset with the problem of the definition of a rural area. One could spend days discussing such a definition. Most of such discussions lead to frustration and the result is relatively useless for practical program application. By this time it must be evident to everyone that the concept of a rural area is highly dynamic and volatile. No matter how precisely a rural area is defined, the validity of the definition will hold for only a brief period. Even more important is the fact that distinctions and features which differentiated a rural area from an urban area are disappearing. If this be true, there is even less reason to be concerned with the definition of the rural area.

The real challenge today is to discover the linkages between rural and urban areas; less time should be spent looking for the lines of demarcation that separate urban from rural. This view is especially meaningful with respect to the delivery of manpower services. Results will

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be more productive, and a more constructive manpower program is likely to come into being when the interrelationships between rural and urban areas are brought into focus. Usually it is the bureaucrats who are concerned about such matters as the definition of a rural area. Their interest stems from the budget implications of alternative definitions and the claims that can be made for public funds to serve clients who fit into the defined jurisdictions. The client, on the other hand, is not aware of the bureaucrat's terminology--nor is he interested. In his search for needed manpower services, he does not ask whether he comes under a rural category or an urban category.

We could probably substantively advance the delivery of manpower services if we turn our attention from definitions of rural areas and concentrate on present and potential clients for manpower services--with particular attention to their numbers, characteristics, and types of manpower problems. Nevertheless, there are a few considerations affecting delivery of manpower services in rural areas which require recognition of certain features especially evident in rural areas. One of these is population--its personal and economic characteristics and its dispersion. Sheer mechanics of delivery of manpower services require special consideration of facilities and resources--their economical and efficient use--in situations where sparse population gives rise to problems of transportation and communication. This consideration is applicable not only to the manpower agency but to all other agencies whose activities are concerned with the broad range of human resources and manpower services.

Perhaps the single greatest problem confronting delivery of manpower services in a rural area arises from the paucity of public resources and the lack of an infrastructure. It may well be that the greatest distinction between rural and metropolitan areas is in the differences in the public resources base--facilities, trained professional manpower, and adequate public financing--and in the tradition of public service and social responsibility. Without these the delivery of manpower services can hardly become a reality. The most important feature which may indicate the potential of success for delivery of manpower services in a rural area may be the proximity of that area to an urban area. It follows that problems of manpower services delivery are aggravated when areas relatively distant from the cities are involved--and especially the remote area isolated by topography, transportation, and communication.

Since the term "delivery of manpower services" is central to the conference discussions, some time should be devoted to its meaning. A number of people making presentations on this subject dwelt at length on "manpower services," but ignored "delivery." This is not surprising since most of these people are conceptualizers, planners, or researchers and therefore do not have responsibility for delivery. "Manpower services" tends to be more glamorous than "delivery." This was especially evident in the discussion presented by Dr. Konyha. In fact, his paper gave little attention to delivery but emphasized *who* should be responsible for the delivery of manpower services. His conclusion, if I understand him correctly, was that the delivery of manpower services should be entrusted to the schools. According to him, not only should the training of manpower take place in the vocational schools, but guidance and counseling should be a school responsibility, and the school should provide the bridge, through placement, between training and at least the first job. In my view the schools, both in urban and rural areas, have problems enough they have been unable to resolve. The demands made upon schools to resolve the problems of modern society, of the family, and other social institutions have taken them well beyond their central mission. It is not my purpose here to enter into a bureaucratic discussion of where responsibility for manpower services should be located.

Our understanding of manpower services, as well as their delivery might be better advanced if we distinguished between functions and organizational entities or institutions. Dr. Konyha spoke about human resource services, manpower services, and employment services. He was most specific about the latter. It seemed to me that he confused the Public Employment Service with employment services. I do not concur that employment services are synonymous with the Public Employment Service. The latter is an organizational entity. Employment services are job market services, rendered by the Public Employment Service among other organizations and institutions. Manpower services are more comprehensive. They are concerned with employability development and preparation for participation in the labor market. As such, they are concerned with the development of manpower resources--as an economic resource--through education and training, rehabilitative and supportive services such as health and social services, etc. Human resource services are services rendered to the entire population--without regard to economic implications as a resource or to labor market participation implications.

The differences in these various types of services have considerable meaning for the content of manpower services delivery systems: the clientele to be served and the agencies responsible for providing the service. For example, from 1966 until about 1971, the Public Employment Service gave prime emphasis to employability development services--training, social services, health services--which were rehabilitative or supportive to improving employability. Its clientele, with highest priority for services, was the most alienated, isolated, and least marketable manpower resources. Employment offices had little understanding, competence, or sympathy for employability development services. Previously, employment offices had told employers they screened and referred only the best qualified and most experienced job-seekers to job openings--with little regard for need, minority, or poverty considerations. These latter factors were regarded as sociological and not labor market, in the economic sense. At the same time employment services should not be equated with "placement services." The latter involves matching job-seekers and job openings, and can be a highly opportunistic operation with a very short-term labor market perspective. A good labor market-oriented agency, concerned with manpower problems of the labor market, should not limit its services exclusively to placement.

A modern-day labor exchange, capable of dealing in the broad range of manpower problems arising in labor markets and a diverse clientele of both experienced and inexperienced job-seekers, provides more than day-to-day placement services. In addition to its job information service, it provides occupational testing, both aptitude and performance; labor market information; and employment counseling. I'm not sure that school counselors are qualified in the area that requires labor market expertise. It has been my observation that school counselors receive their education on college campuses, usually in a college of education. Would-be counselors are exposed to much psychology, but are also required to take courses in the history and theory of pedagogy and methods of teaching. Their guidance often consists of helping troubled children who are not getting along well with others in school and their counseling is usually concerned with school curricula and college choice. Youngsters having difficulty completing high school or who have dropped out are not likely to get much vocational or labor market assistance guidance from school officers.

Unfortunately the employment counselor in the Public Employment Service also lacks much of the knowledge and competence required to render optimum vocational counseling services. Nevertheless, the ongoing daily activities and experiences of the employment offices and clientele (whether job-seekers, employers, or community agencies and organizations) all are centered on the labor market and the realities of hiring processes and requirements. The labor market information obtained in the real world of work can contribute significantly to meaningful counseling. The specialized knowledge of occupations in the local employment offices can likewise add to the effectiveness of the counseling delivery system.

In order to focus on the delivery of manpower services it is necessary to concentrate on the strategy, logistics, and mobilization of resource capabilities to assist clients in the resolution or amelioration of their manpower problems. Indeed, the measure of the effectiveness of such a system is the extent to which it achieves this objective. Staff resource requirements for the delivery of manpower services call for quite different talents and capabilities than found among conceptualizers, planners, and researchers. The latter are interested in policy and legislation. They are concerned with program objectives, goals, and priorities. They are especially intrigued with innovation and change, and they seek stimulating and challenging intellectual activities. Those who actually deliver manpower services, the program operators, however, are opposed to change. Staff specialists and technicians who deal first-hand with clients are inclined to be skeptical of broad-gauged policies and program objectives. They resist innovations because they often disrupt delivery of manpower services. It is, therefore, important that the proper balance be established between planners and those who must actually operate at the grassroots level.

The respective roles of planners and operators can impede the delivery of manpower services when communications are inadequate as pointed out to me recently in a number of seminars I conducted in Asia and Europe. Manpower practitioners, responsible for manpower development and utilization, and teachers, social workers, and job market specialists exercise relatively little influence or power in government policy. In previous years when I had met such manpower specialists in developing countries, I found great sympathy but little power to act. This past year, because my central topic was manpower resources and economic development and industrial growth, it was necessary to meet with the economic planners, with those responsible for trade and commerce, and those concerned with money and banking, exchange, and trade balances. These specialists wield considerable influence in government affairs and dictates. Unfortunately, they rarely meet with manpower specialists and are not really aware of the important contributions which delivery of manpower services can make to economic growth and industrial development. Planners often are not doers, while the doers tend to concentrate on action, sometimes losing sight of purpose.

Meaningful delivery of manpower services requires that the manpower operator understand the objectives and goals, and the role and mission of the manpower agency. Because of operating pressures and the need to deal with shortrun emergencies, there is a danger that action becomes an end in itself. The saying "Pep without purpose is piffle" should have particular meaning for the manpower operator. Many of the problems of delivery of manpower services might be traced to the fact that delivery is only one stage--linked to others--and not the first in an effective manpower program. Preceding delivery of manpower services is the need to develop a plan of service. Such a plan requires identification, measurement, and analyses of manpower problems--their magnitudes, characteristics, and trends. The plan of service must also take account of existing resource capabilities for dealing with these problems. Since resources will always be more limited than the demands made upon them, executive management is confronted with decision-making regarding priorities. Such decisions dictate what is involved in the delivery of manpower services.

The challenge to maximize resource capability to deliver manpower services is especially great when staff resources are limited. The need to supplement inadequate staff requires that every effort be made to take advantage of advanced technology. Clearly the application of computerized processes to employment service procedures, for example, can be most helpful. Unfortunately, sometimes promises are made for the potential of computerized processes--as seems to be the case in the Job Bank--which go beyond actual delivery. The fact is that the Job Bank represents only the computerization of the demand--job openings listings--a rather primitive accomplishment. It may only represent the 18th century of computerization; supply and applicant characteristics also need to be computerized and even that may not be the answer. Perhaps the delivery of manpower services will take place through closed circuit TV. In any case, it is evident that the delivery system must not be frozen so that it loses its flexibility to adapt to technological advances.

It may be that the Job Bank, which deals with only a fragment of manpower services, may bring useful lessons to manpower agencies--albeit rather expensive. The computer is only a tool--for all its wonders--and is not a substitute for the human being. Employer services, job development, sound order taking, and effective service of employee manpower needs have not been resolved by the Job Bank. Indeed, rigidities may have been introduced which seriously limit shifts to better technology.

Another consideration which has an important bearing on the delivery of manpower services is the role of management and supervision. Too often the rank and file is blamed for manpower services delivery failures. The fact is that neither the rank and file nor the top administrators account for most of the manpower services delivery problems. A large part of the responsibility can be traced to middle management--often employed in the state administrative office or in field supervision. This group, because of seniority and status, exercises the direction of the delivery of manpower services--often at a distance. This problem, which is widespread in the Employment Service, is found in almost all other agencies.

During the Eisenhower Administration, when the rural development program was initiated in the Department of Agriculture, representatives from the Labor Department were asked to cooperate on human resources and manpower problems. We learned at that time that the Extension Service was confronted with a personnel problem--analogous to the management and supervision problem in the Employment Service. The old line Extension Service personnel had little understanding or sympathy for rural development, especially as it might relate to human resources. Their people were interested in productivity, loans, capital investment, seed and cultivation techniques, and then only for the most prosperous farmers. They had little social orientation. Delivery of manpower services required reorientation and adaptation of senior personnel who were responsible for managing the program.

An important factor which goes to the heart of the delivery of manpower services is the extent to which the agencies, concerned with either human resources or manpower services, expect their staffs to function as intermediaries. Each agency likes to think that its staff has specialized expertise which is critical to the resolution of a client's manpower problem. Bureaucrats thrive on the notion that everything they do represents a service. For example, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act for World War II Veterans stated that the United States Employment Service should provide optimum counseling and placement services to veterans. That was interpreted to mean that every veteran should get counseling whether he needed it or not. Interviewers became counselors overnight and veterans got counseling, when often what they needed was jobs. All this activity was a justification for more budget for the local employment office.

A sound manpower services delivery system will differentiate among clientele as to the types of services needed and the extent to which agency staff should act as intermediaries. In addition to the problem of rendering "services" which may not be needed, the delivery system needs to determine the kinds of resources required to provide manpower services. There is a tendency on the part of professional personnel to view with skepticism the use of volunteers and paraprofessionals. Nevertheless, despite high cost and scarce professional staff resources, many a professional working in a manpower agency spends considerable time on clerical and less than professional tasks. Employment of paid paraprofessionals is restricted frequently by civil service hiring specifications or excessively rigid requirements regarding schooling or experience which bear little relation to the work to be performed.

Delivery of manpower services in a remote rural area or even one which is only a short distance from an urban area may not justify full-time professional staff resources. In such instances the use of a professional to supervise on a full-time or itinerant basis--paraprofessional staff may meet the needs. Much more attention should be given to bringing volunteers into the delivery of manpower services in rural areas. Interagency efforts to coordinate and pool activities can attract volunteers when otherwise narrowly specialized services may tend to limit their participation. Perhaps one of the most important steps in the enlargement of volunteer's participation in rural area manpower programs is to bring a community leader into the program and, through his prestige, enlist the aid of others.

Several times in the course of this conference reference was made to the importance of experimentation for the improvement of delivery of manpower services. There is no doubt that demonstration and pilot projects permit innovations and flexibility which are not possible in ongoing manpower operations. The problem is that, once an experiment is undertaken, it too often develops a unique experience and too little thought is given to how the experiment can become operational. At yesterday's meeting the Oregon representative described the ACE project. As I listened it seemed to me that ACE differed in only slight details from the Ottumwa project for which I served as a consultant and advisor in 1968 and 1969. The Ottumwa experiment by 1970 had clearly demonstrated the value of adopting its chief features into rural manpower operations. It is strange that ACE is being discussed as an experiment in 1974, when the guidelines for the state plan of service for rural areas of the past two years have specifically provided for a multi-county area with parent and feeder offices in rural areas.

Another example of an experiment in the delivery of manpower services in a rural area which has, in my estimation, proven itself is Operation Hitchhike. One might properly ask how much longer this approach must be regarded as experimental. Its chief feature is to provide resources in an area where facilities and manpower expertise are lacking through cooperative efforts between the Employment Service and rural agencies or agricultural groups such as the Extension Service, to develop a manpower competence. The same may be said for the Concerted Services and Training experiment. The techniques for developing a capability for rendering a manpower service in a rural area which otherwise might be denied such a service, and the contribution a coordinator brings to that capability should become standard in manpower services manuals for rural areas.

It seems to me that several major developments are taking place which have extremely important implications for the future of manpower program effectiveness and the delivery of manpower services in this country. The first of these was discussed by Mr. Edward Hunter from Minnesota.

1. The Energy Crisis. I agree that its ramifications are far-reaching. Our interests here must focus on manpower and the rural area situation. There is no doubt that unemployment will increase and that labor markets will loosen as employment opportunities decline. Pressures for manpower training programs will weaken as experienced workers are laid off. By the same token, employer hiring specifications will become more exacting with the result that marginal job-seekers will encounter greater difficulties in finding work. The implications for many minority group workers, as well as the poor and handicapped, are not good. Workers from rural areas and youth lacking work experience will be competing with better qualified, more experienced laid-off workers already resident in the urban areas and familiar with hiring channels.

How to deliver manpower services under these circumstances, to rural young people qualified only for entry jobs is a major challenge indeed. Even if there should be some expansion of public service employment opportunities, it is doubtful that rural youth can compete effectively. Despite the advantages of the Job Bank, a better listing of job openings, and improved labor market information, the delivery system itself will not produce jobs.

2. Comprehensive Manpower Service Legislation. Both the Senate and the House have passed slightly different versions of manpower legislation which is now in conference. Three major features will have a great deal of influence on manpower services and delivery systems:

a) Manpower Revenue Sharing - It appears that greater opportunities will exist for rural areas and smaller towns to participate in manpower revenue sharing, providing they have the capability of organizing on a multi-county or area basis, taking a consortium approach, and can make an effective appeal for funds. With the local executive mayor of the large urban area as the prime sponsor, it is doubtful that rural areas will receive much recognition of their needs for manpower services unless they take the initiative. Even when the governor of a state is the prime sponsor, it will be necessary for a given rural area to make a strong claim for manpower funds against other claimants. It remains to be seen how revenue sharing funds will actually be channeled between governors and mayors.

Nor is it clear what agencies will be locally responsible for the delivery of manpower services. There is no basis for the Employment Service to regard itself either as a prime sponsor or a prime deliverer of manpower services. The proposed legislation provides that public and private agencies can compete for contracts let by the prime sponsor to deliver manpower services. In some instances community action agencies are likely to provide such services locally. The next several years may test whether the Public Employment Service will function as a narrow labor exchange engaged exclusively in placement operations or whether it will function as a labor market institution with broader manpower responsibilities. In any case it is clear that the reversal of program objectives for the Employment Service in which placements have the highest priority is likely to continue. It is equally clear that employability development services will receive less attention in local employment offices. It is important to bear in mind that the Public Employment Service will continue to be funded under Title III of the Social Security Act and that it will continue to be responsible for operations under the Wagner Peyser Act. How these responsibilities will be coordinated with the manpower services to be funded through manpower revenue sharing will dictate much of the future of the Public Employment Service.

Many of you will recall that a year ago at a conference similar to this in Austin, Texas we devoted several days to the implications of the then newly enacted Rural Development Act. Some optimistic views were expressed about the prospects that funds would become available to rural areas to initiate needed research looking toward economic development and to establish bases for expanded manpower services. At that time I expressed doubts about the extent to which that legislation would contribute to improved manpower services in rural areas. It seemed to me that financial support for the implementation of the Act was likely to be limited and that in any case manpower objectives were largely outside its focus. It seemed to me that until a rural area acquired professional competence to do manpower planning and to develop claims for financial assistance it was not likely to improve its manpower services situation. The pending legislation on comprehensive manpower services may have some promise to meet this need.

b) Public Service Employment - The proposed legislation restores a small-scale program for public service employment, as was provided for in the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. It contemplates the hiring of unemployed individuals to engage in state and local government employment in those areas which have high-level unemployment. Although the program was expected to be small, it is possible it may be expanded considerably should unemployment rise significantly. Assuming that rural areas will have some advocacy, it may be that some rural areas will expand public employment opportunities. The legislation may also make financial support possible in some rural areas for a position to undertake manpower planning and prepare requests for funding of needed manpower services.

c) Special Manpower Programs - Although the legislation is intended to provide comprehensive manpower services, to reduce fragmentation of manpower programs, and to decategorize manpower programs, it appears that a number of special programs will be continual. Provision is made for a special program for Indians; another for farm migrants; and another for the Job Corps. The legislation would authorize continuation of manpower programs which have in the past been conducted by OIC, by AFL-CIO, SER, and the Urban League. Many of these programs have implications for manpower services to specific clientele in some rural areas.

3. Management and Funding of Manpower Programs. The third major development which is bound to influence future delivery of manpower services is the emphasis being given to tightened management controls, including

accountability and evaluation--increased cost-effectiveness analyses. Greater reliance is placed on quantitative program performance measurement and standards and management information systems. Demands for increased productivity and improved output mean that budgets are reduced on the premise that more work can be accomplished with less staff. When the costs resulting from salary increases are introduced into the budget process and deliverers of manpower services are expected to absorb these costs, personnel resources for delivery of services are further reduced.

A hard-nosed approach to manpower programs with considerable doubt as to their efficiency means that financing these programs will make the delivery of manpower services an increasingly difficult assignment. With pressures increasing to lower unit costs and to reduce staff time inputs in the delivery of manpower services, the task of providing competent professional manpower services adapted to individual needs becomes more difficult. The challenge confronting manpower administrators and specialists is to produce compelling proof that the costs of providing manpower services are less than the benefits which accrue to both the individual and society--and to demonstrate this in dollar terms.

APPENDIX A

CONFERENCE ON MANPOWER SERVICES IN RURAL AMERICA

A conference examining the methods of delivery
of manpower services in rural areas

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1973

8:00- 8:45 a.m. Registration

Session I - Delivering Public Services in Rural Areas

Moderator and Introductory Remarks . . . *John McCauley*, Special Assistant to the Director, Rural Manpower Service, U.S. Department of Labor, "Introductory Remarks"

8:45- 9:30 a.m. *Kenneth Rainey*, Fellow, Academy for Contemporary Problems, Columbus, Ohio, "Public Services in Rural Areas"

9:30-10:00 a.m. Discussion of Session I

10:00-10:15 a.m. Coffee and donuts

Session II - Issues in the Delivery of Manpower Services in Rural Areas

Moderator: *Joseph Kasper*, Rural Manpower Service Director, Emeritus, Region V, U.S. Department of Labor, Chicago, Illinois

10:15-10:45 a.m. *Marvin Konyha*, Program Leader, Manpower Development and Community Facilities, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., "Manpower Service Needs in Rural Areas"

10:45-11:15 a.m. "Operating Problems in Rural Employment Services Delivery," Panel of Employment Service Personnel in rural offices of Region VIII, U.S. Department of Labor

James Hillberry, District Office Manager, Wyoming Employment Service, Cody, Wyoming, "Operating Problems in Rural Employment Services Delivery"

Rudolph Gonzales, Employment Manager II, Colorado Department of Labor and Employment, Division of Employment, Alamosa, Colorado, "Delivery of Manpower Services to Rural Areas"

James Hirsch, North Dakota Employment Security Bureau, Hillsboro, North Dakota, "Rural Manpower Services in an Urban Fringe"

11:15-11:45 a.m. Commentators:

Gerald Somers, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, "Discussion of the Delivery of Manpower Services in Rural Areas"

Varden Fuller, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of California, Davis, "Comments by Varden Fuller on 'Manpower Service Needs in Rural Areas' by Marvin E. Konyha"

11:45-12:30 p.m. Discussion of Session II

12:30- 1:30 p.m. Lunch

Session III - Innovative Arrangements for the Delivery of Manpower Services in Rural Areas

Part A - General Methods

Moderator: *Myrtle Reul*, Assistant Dean and Professor of Social Work, University of Georgia, Athens

1:45- 2:05 p.m. *Charles Fairchild*, E. F. Shelley and Company, Inc., New York and Washington, D.C., "Innovative Arrangements for the Delivery of Manpower Services in Rural Areas: The Job Bank Experience"

2:05- 2:25 p.m. *David Ruesink*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Texas A & M University, College Station, Texas, "Potential Use of Volunteers and Program Aides in Rural Manpower Programs"

2:25- 3:00 p.m. Discussion of Session III - Part A

3:00- 3:15 p.m. Coffee

Part B - Rural Manpower Service Pilot Projects

Moderator: *Wendy Rayner*, Program Leader, Operation Hitchhike, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

3:15- 3:35 p.m. *Eldon Cone* and *Leonard Sytsma*, Deputy Administrator and Assistant, Employment Division, Oregon Department of Human Resources, Salem, Oregon, "Area Concept Expansion, A Concept Whose Use Should Be Expanded, and Its Application in Oregon"

3:35- 4:00 p.m. *Jim Booth*, Program Leader, Operation Hitchhike, Michigan, and Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University; *Collette Moser*, Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, "Delivery of Rural Manpower Services Under Operation Hitchhike"

4:00- 4:20 p.m. B. *Eugene Griessman*, Professor, Department of Sociology, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama, "Developmental Change in an Altered Political Situation: Some Observations on Concerted Services"

4:20- 5:00 p.m. Discussion of Session III - Part B

5:30- 7:00 p.m. Hospitality Hour

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1973

Session IV - Implementation of Rural Manpower Delivery Plans

Moderator: *David Duncan*, Deputy Assistant Manpower Administrator, U.S. Department of Labor, Region VIII, Denver, Colorado

9:15- 9:45 a.m. *A. Edward Hunter*, Deputy Director, Minnesota State Planning Agency and Chairman, State Manpower Planning Council, St. Paul, Minnesota, "Rural Manpower Services: Institutional Barriers at the State Level"

9:45-10:15 a.m. *Robert Hunter*, Associate Professor of Sociology and Director, Bureau of Sociological Research, University of Colorado, Boulder, "Decentralization and Revenue Sharing: Implications for Rural Manpower Delivery Systems"

10:15-10:30 a.m. Coffee and donuts

10:30-11:00 a.m. *Ray Marshall*, Professor of Economics, and Director, Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas, Austin, "Obtaining State Support for Rural Manpower"

11:00-11:45 a.m. Discussion of Session IV

Moderator: *Collette Moser*, Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University

12:00- 1:45 p.m. Lunch - Speaker: *Daniel Kruger*, Professor, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University, "Manpower Delivery Systems and Equity for Special Groups in Rural America"

Session V - Conference Summary

Moderator: *John McCauley*, Special Assistant to the Director, Rural Manpower Service, U.S. Department of Labor

1:45- 2:15 p.m. *Louis Levine*, Professorial Lecturer, School of Government Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., "Conference Findings: Implications for Future Program Effectiveness"

2:15- 3:00 p.m. Discussion of Session V

Adjournment

APPENDIX B

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Biehn, Elizabeth S., Virginia Governor's Manpower Planning Council, Richmond, Virginia.

Black, Louis, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Epps, Alabama.

Blakey, Millard L., Rural Development Center, Tifton, Georgia.

Booth, Jim, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University.

Butler, Claude, Iowa Employment Security Commission, Des Moines, Iowa.

Casteel, Donald R., Concerted Services in Training and Education, Maquoketa, Iowa.

Dennis, Michael, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University.

Duff, Oscar A., West Virginia Department of Employment Security, Charleston, West Virginia.

Duncan, David, U.S. Department of Labor, Region VIII, Denver, Colorado.

Elterich, Joachim G., Department of Agriculture and Food Economics, University of Delaware.

Fairchild, Charles, E. F. Shelley and Company, Inc., New York and Washington, D.C.

Ford, Don, Office of Governors - Manpower Planning, Lexington, South Carolina.

Foster, David J., U.S. Department of Labor, Dallas, Texas.

Fuller, Varden, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of California, Davis.

Gildroy, Ralph, Concerted Services in Training and Education, Roundup, Montana.

Gonzales, Rudolph, Colorado Department of Labor and Employment, Alamosa, Colorado.

Griessman, B. Eugene, Department of Sociology, Auburn University.

Hiett, Larry, Employment Security Division, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Hillberry, James, Wyoming Employment Service. Cody, Wyoming.

Hirsch, James, North Dakota Employment Security Bureau, Hillsboro, North Dakota.

Hunter, A. Edward, Minnesota State Planning Agency, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Hunter, Robert, Bureau of Sociological Research, University of Colorado.

Juers, Linley, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Kasper, Joseph, U.S. Department of Labor, Region V, Emeritus, Chicago, Illinois.

Kenny, Martin W., Rural Employability Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Konyha, Marvin, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Kruger, Daniel, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University.

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Levine, Louis, School of Government Studies, George Washington University.

Makela, Kai, U.S. Department of Labor, Kansas City, Missouri.

Mandt, Sherman, Concerted Services in Training and Education, Wadena, Minnesota.

Marshall, Ray, Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas.

McCauley, John, Rural Manpower Service, U.S. Department of Labor.

Moser, Collette, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University.

Pollard, Mildred, Gilbert R. Green and Company, Natick, Massachusetts.

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